

would not accomplish what is hoped for and would result in legal chaos through its effect upon a large number of State laws and believing that the removal of legal discriminations against women where they still exist can be accomplished better through legislative action in specific subjects by the State or National legislative bodies; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3831. By Mr. MAGNUSON: Petition of residents of Seattle, Wash., favoring House bill 4; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3832. By Mr. SADOWSKI: Petition of the Supporting Government Home Borrowers Association, adopted by Renters and Consumers League of Greater Detroit, Mich.; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3833. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the United Lumber and Timber Workers, Local No. 316, Flat Creek, Ala., supporting the repeal of the Woodrum amendment now pending before Congress relating to Works Progress Administration funds; to the Committee on Appropriations.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1938

(Legislative day of Wednesday, January 5, 1938)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Tuesday, January 18, 1938, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 8524. An act authorizing the completion of the existing project for the protection of the sea wall at Galveston Harbor, Tex.; and

H. R. 8947. An act making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 2550. An act to permit the printing of black-and-white illustrations of United States and foreign postage stamps for philatelic purposes; and

S. 2940. An act to make confidential certain information furnished to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and for other purposes.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, there has been an examination going on before the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys with regard to the qualifications of Mr. Ebert K. Burlew, the nominee for First Assistant Secretary of the Interior. In the very nature of things, it is difficult to have a full attendance of the committee at the present time. There are certain matters that I am now placing in the RECORD for the benefit of members of the committee who have not been able to keep up with the hearings by reason of other official duties which they may consider more important. In that investigation there has been an astounding revelation with regard to the laxity and inefficiency, if not criminal carelessness, in the Finance and Auditing Division of the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior.

A few days ago there was a brief statement in the press that one Reno E. Stitely, a pay clerk in the National Park

Service here in Washington, had pleaded guilty to the embezzlement, through forgery and false vouchers, of approximately \$84,000 of relief funds allotted to the Park Service. A few days prior to that time the name of Mr. Burlew had been sent to the Senate as the nominee for the position of First Assistant Secretary of the Interior. That nomination has been referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys of the Senate.

It was so extraordinary that a pay clerk, over a period of 4 years, through false vouchers, the collecting of Government checks, and forging the names of payees who did not exist, could embezzle the large sum of over \$84,000 that it seemed to reflect upon a bureau of the Interior Department.

As a matter of fact, the Secretary of the Department is primarily responsible for the efficiency in each of the bureaus of his Department, and also for the honesty and integrity of the personnel. Therefore, it might not seem to concern the nominee under consideration, Mr. Burlew. However, the testimony before the committee by Secretary Ickes and Mr. Burlew himself discloses the fact that the Secretary did rely on Mr. Burlew, and had a right to rely on him, to keep him advised with regard to the various bureaus of the Department.

That conclusion may not be concurred in by other members of the committee. However, the testimony of Mr. Ickes discloses the fact that not only does he advise with Mr. Burlew, who is his administrative assistant, but permits him to sign most of his letters or all of them, if he so desires, and has had passed by the House a bill, which is pending before the Senate committee, authorizing Mr. Burlew to sign every kind and character of document which the Secretary may be authorized to sign. When I questioned the Secretary with regard to this extraordinary power, he stated that he had absolute confidence in Mr. Burlew.

Mr. Burlew is not only the administrative assistant who carries out the orders of the Secretary and with whom the Secretary advises, but he is the budget officer. He is the personnel officer over whose desk pass all appointments in the Department of the Interior or in the Public Works Administration.

Mr. President, I am not going to debate this question at the present time because the hearings are not completed, but I have in my hand a report made at the order of Secretary Ickes by the investigating officers of his own Department, and submitted to him. Apparently it was made to him somewhere along in July 1937. It has been submitted in evidence under sworn testimony. I merely desire to read a few statements from the report and then I ask that the entire report be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks as a part of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the report will be printed in the RECORD.

(The report appears in the RECORD at the conclusion of Mr. PITTMAN's remarks, p. 747.)

Mr. PITTMAN. This report was made by Mr. R. C. McCarthy and Mr. Cecil G. Miles, special agents for the Department of the Interior. I quote from the report:

This investigation is based on the alleged activities of Reno E. Stitely, chief of the voucher unit, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, in connection with the preparation, falsification, and submission of pay-roll vouchers and the conversion to his own use of United States Government checks issued thereon amounting to \$84,880.03.

This investigation discloses that:

1. Certifying officers approved vouchers signed by persons whose signatures were not known to said certifying officers.

2. Certifying officers were not furnished pay-roll data, such as memorandums of employment or time slips. This information was retained in the office of the approving officer after he had signed voucher.

3. Voucher was presumed to be authentic when it was initialed by Reno E. Stitely.

4. Clerks engaged in the preparation of pay-roll vouchers were authorized to secure checks from the Treasury Department for delivery to persons named therein.

5. No effective reconciliation of E. C. W. funds paid by the War Department for the Department of the Interior could be made from 1933 to July 1936. War Department officials state that their

accounting system could have been arranged to provide almost any information had the Department of the Interior requested it. 6. No reconciliation of accounts payable for the Washington office (National Park Service) has been made since 1933.

7. Approving officers failed to examine monthly statements of costs and expenditures, examination of which would have detected unauthorized vouchers which had been posted.

Special agent:

Special agent:

Approved:

Confidential—not for public inspection.
U. S. Government Printing Office 16-4946.

I will read just a few more lines from the report on page 2:

Investigation further disclosed that for the past few years Stitley purchased a new automobile each year and sometimes more frequently. The last automobile which he purchased was a Packard 120 convertible sedan. Stitley spent money very lavishly. As the records at the Ambassador Hotel, Washington, D. C., show, on occasion he spent more than \$100 for a wedding anniversary party and \$275 for a 4-day drinking party in February 1936, when he had reported to the National Park Service that he was ill.

Stitley, upon learning that photostats of the missing vouchers had been requested by the National Park Service, began at once to liquidate his bank and brokerage accounts and remained away from the office, claiming illness. He was arrested on April 27, 1937, and is under bond of \$10,000 awaiting action by the Federal grand jury.

Interrogation of the officials and clerks employed in the National Park Service evinced the same information to the effect that, despite Stitley's lavish spending, no suspicion of him was ever considered; that they believed he had made large profits from speculations in the stock market, or that he had inherited a large amount of money.

Investigation further disclosed that Stitley had falsified a total of 134 pay-roll vouchers, comprising 1,116 checks, totaling \$84,880.03, shown as follows:

I will not read the figures.

It will be noted that the greatest number of falsifications related to the Emergency Conservation Works funds and covered a period of nearly 4 years.

Mr. LEWIS. May I interrupt the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. PITTMAN. If the Senator will wait until I finish the reading, which will take me only a little while longer, then I will yield.

Mr. LEWIS. When the Senator has concluded, I desire to make an interrogation, if he will permit me.

Mr. PITTMAN. I continue quoting from the report:

COMMENTS

The principal reason these defalcations were permitted to continue for such a long period of time (nearly 5 years) can be attributed to the following:

1. Failure to reconcile accounts payable.
2. Failure of approving officers to examine the monthly statements of costs and expenditures for any improper charges made against their funds.

There were at least two methods which would have disclosed any irregularities, namely:

(a) A reconciliation with the general ledger, which could have been effected by adding to the unencumbered balance the unliquidated encumbrances and unpaid vouchers (accounts payable).

(b) Ascertain that all vouchers were posted to the allotment ledgers.

If the above methods had been followed, there remained but one possibility to pass an illegal voucher, namely, negligence on the part of the approving officer to examine the monthly statement of costs and expenditures.

CONCLUSION

The submission of numerous fictitious vouchers by Stitley would have been fruitless unless he secured possession of the checks.

It is inconceivable that the National Park Service would authorize any person connected with the voucher unit engaged in the preparation of pay-roll vouchers to receive checks from the disbursing officers for delivery to the persons named on said pay-roll vouchers.

The records in the Washington office of the National Park Service have not been audited in several years. Neither has a proper audit of E. C. W. funds been made, either in the Washington office of the National Park Service or its numerous field stations. It would require at this time at least six auditors the better part of a year's time to make a proper check of E. C. W. funds paid for the Department of the Interior.

Unless this check is made, it will be impossible to ascertain the number of persons who have taken advantage of the opportunity to unjustly enrich themselves.

CECIL G. MILES.

R. C. MCCARTHY.

CHARLES HURLEY.

SUGGESTIONS

It is suggested that—

1. The system of authorizing persons engaged in the preparation of vouchers to receive checks from the Treasury Department for delivery to persons named on said vouchers be abolished.

2. Request be made to the chief disbursing officer, Mr. G. F. Allen, to submit separate accounts current covering the following:

(a) Transactions of the National Park Service Washington office accounts.

(b) Transactions of the National Park Service field office accounts.

3. The accounts section, National Park Service, be required to prepare and submit monthly a statement of control covering all transactions relative to the accounts maintained in the Washington office.

I have already asked permission to have printed in the RECORD the entire report, and permission has been granted.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator has permission.

The report in full is as follows:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, DIVISION OF INVESTIGATIONS, WASHINGTON

(Region—Division—District)

Date of report: August 5, 1937.

Serial number; previous correspondence; nature of report (favorable or adverse); name of special agent (Interior, Oil Enforcement, or P. W. A.): I. D. 1310-A. D. I. 0547-A.

Origin: Oral instructions from the Director, Division of Investigations, April 12, 1937.

Period of investigation: April 12, 1937, to July 27, 1937.

Robert C. McCarthy and Cecil G. Miles, special agents, Department of the Interior.

Brief: Analysis of the accounting procedure used in the Accounts Section, National Park Service, to determine and to ascertain whether there was negligence in the administration thereof.

This investigation is based on the alleged activities of Reno E. Stitley, chief of the voucher unit, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, in connection with the preparation, falsification and submission of pay-roll vouchers and the conversion to his own use of United States Government checks issued thereon amounting to \$84,880.03.

This investigation discloses that:

1. Certifying officers approved vouchers signed by persons whose signatures were not known to said certifying officers.

2. Certifying officers were not furnished pay-roll data, such as memorandums of employment or time slips. This information was retained in the office of the approving officer after he had signed voucher.

3. Voucher was presumed to be authentic when it was initialed by Reno E. Stitley.

4. Clerks engaged in the preparation of pay-roll vouchers were authorized to secure checks from the Treasury Department for delivery to persons named therein.

5. No effective reconciliation of E. C. W. funds paid by the War Department for the Department of the Interior could be made from 1933 to July 1936. War Department officials state that their accounting system could have been arranged to provide almost any information had the Department of the Interior requested it.

6. No reconciliation of accounts payable for the Washington office (National Park Service) has been made since 1933.

7. Approving officers failed to examine monthly statements of costs and expenditures, examination of which would have detected unauthorized vouchers which had been posted.

CECIL G. MILES,
Special Agent.

RCM: LK.

R. C. MCCARTHY,
Special Agent.

Approved:

CHARLES HURLEY.

Confidential—not for public inspection.

Date, ———. Referred to ——— for appropriate action. Please advise Division of Investigations of action taken.

DIRECTOR OF INVESTIGATIONS.

United States Government Printing Office, 16-4946.

LIST OF EXHIBITS

Exhibit A: Memorandum of Perry D. Edwards, Acting Chief of the Accounts Section, National Park Service, dated May 13, 1937.

Exhibit B: Memorandum of F. W. Watson, Chief of the Audit Division, Accounts Section, National Park Service, dated May 20, 1937.

Exhibit B-1: Memorandum of F. W. Watson, Chief of the Audit Division, Accounts Section, National Park Service, dated May 28, 1937.

BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation was predicated on information furnished the Director of the Division of Investigations on April 12, 1937, relative to certain pay-roll vouchers which did not appear to be authentic.

The original and supplemental criminal reports covering the investigation have been submitted (I. D. 1310).

This investigation is made for the purpose of analyzing the accounting procedure used in the accounts section of the National Park Service and to determine the sufficiency of the accounting system employed relative to the prevention of irregularities and frauds against the Government.

HISTORY OF THE CASE

On or about April 1, 1937, a representative from the chief disbursing office of the Treasury Department informed the accounts section that the balance remaining in the appropriation "14-41-44-0699 (4-OW 671.1 old number) working fund, Interior, National Park Service (emergency relief, surplus relief, National Industrial Recovery)" was nearly exhausted, there being less than \$300 unexpended; whereas the allotment ledger for this appropriation showed an unexpended balance of about \$7,000.

In reconciling the differences, it was found that five pay-roll vouchers totaling \$6,855.60 had been passed for payment during the period April to August 1936, and had not been posted to the allotment ledgers. Copies of these vouchers could not be located. Accordingly, a request was sent by the National Park Service to the General Accounting Office for photostats.

Information had reached the Director of the Division of Investigations in connection with this matter, and a request was forwarded to the General Accounting Office for photostats of the missing vouchers and checks applicable thereto.

Under date of April 19, 1937, the photostats were received, which disclosed that 54 checks bore the second endorsement of Reno E. Stitely, Chief of the Voucher Unit, Accounting Section, National Park Service, and had been cashed at the Washington Loan & Trust Co., West End Branch, Washington, D. C.

Investigation of the accounts at the Washington Loan & Trust Co. disclosed that Reno E. Stitely had made numerous large deposits to several savings and checking accounts which he had opened at that bank; that in one or two accounts, as many as six Government checks had been deposited at regular intervals of 2 weeks over a period of several months.

Investigation further disclosed that Reno E. Stitely had deposited in various accounts, over which he exercised control, and in various banks and building associations from 1932 to May 1937, \$75,364.37, less \$4,370, representing deposits to his accounts indicating bank loans, or a net total of \$70,994.37. From 1933 to 1937, Stitely purchased stocks through the Washington Loan & Trust Co. and stocks and commodities through the E. A. Pierce Co. amounting to \$258,342.51. Stitely also purchased a new dwelling in May 1935, at a cost of \$12,000, paying down the sum of \$500, and executed notes totaling \$5,000, due as follows: \$1,000 payable June 1, 1935; \$1,000 payable July 1, 1935; \$2,000 payable January 1, 1936; \$1,000 payable July 31, 1936.

The remaining \$6,500 was represented by a first trust. The \$5,500 payments by Stitely were made over a period of 13 months, which was nearly two and one-half times his salary of \$2,300 as chief of the voucher unit, Accounts Section, National Park Service.

Investigation further disclosed that for the past few years Stitely purchased a new automobile each year, and sometimes more frequently. The last automobile which he purchased was a Packard 120 convertible sedan. Stitely spent money very lavishly; as the records at the Ambassador Hotel, Washington, D. C., show, on occasion he spent more than \$100 for a wedding anniversary party and \$275 for a 4-day drinking party in February 1936 when he had reported to the National Park Service that he was ill.

Stitely, upon learning that photostats of the missing vouchers had been requested by the National Park Service, began at once to liquidate his bank and brokerage accounts and remained away from the office, claiming illness. He was arrested on April 27, 1937, and is under bond of \$10,000 awaiting action by the Federal grand jury.

Interrogation of the officials and clerks employed in the National Park Service evinced the same information to the effect that, despite Stitely's lavish spending, no suspicion of him was ever considered; that they believed he had made large profits from speculations in the stock market, or that he had inherited a large amount of money.

Investigation further disclosed that Stitely had falsified a total of 134 pay-roll vouchers, comprising 1,116 checks, totalling \$84,880.03, shown as follows:

Appropriation symbol	Period	Number of pay-roll vouchers	Number of checks	Amount
42/3400 National Park Service, 1932-33 (4-420 Great Smoky Mountains National Park).	Sept. 19, 1932-Feb. 28, 1933.	6	19	\$1,013.01
42/3400 National Park Service, 1932-33 (4-440 Colonial Monument and 4-439, George Washington's Birthplace National Monument).	Oct. 1, 1932-Mar. 31, 1935.	2	3	144.00
4X436 Roads and trails, National Parks, Gatlinburg, Tenn.	Nov. 16, 1932-Jan. 31, 1933.	4	17	1,015.98
4X436 Roads and trails, National Park Service, Washington, D. C.	Feb. 20-June 30, 1933.	12	74	5,182.20
F D 570 P1-0110 A8815N Emergency Conservation funds.	July 1, 1933-Mar. 31, 1937.	91	799	57,512.64

Appropriation symbol	Period	Number of pay-roll vouchers	Number of checks	Amount
4-03/7640.14 N. I. R., Interior, national parks, 1933-37 (F. P. 672).	Mar. 16-Apr. 15, 1936.	3	12	\$1,274.00
14-44-4629 N. I. R., Interior, national parks, roads and trails, act June 16, 1933.	July 1-Aug. 15, 1936.	2	26	2,467.50
14-1130 Roads and trails, national parks, emergency construction.	Oct. 16, 1936-Mar. 15, 1937.	9	112	9,415.10
40W671.1 Working fund, Interior, National Park Service (emergency relief, surplus relief, N. I. R.).	Apr. 17-Aug. 15, 1936.	5	54	6,855.60
Total		134	1,116	84,880.03

EMERGENCY CONSERVATION FUNDS

It will be noted that the greatest number of falsifications related to the Emergency Conservation Works funds and covered a period of nearly 4 years.

The finance officer for the War Department (Washington district) required a letter from officials in charge of preparing and submitting pay-roll vouchers authorizing any individuals to receive checks for delivery in person to those named on any pay roll or voucher which bore the signature of said official as certifying officer. The authorization was to remain in effect until canceled by said certifying officer.

Stitely submitted a letter bearing the traced signature of J. R. Lassiter, superintendent of Shenandoah National Park, to the finance officer, United States Army, Washington, D. C., who was one of the finance officers disbursing E. C. W. funds for the National Park Service. After submitting two pay rolls in July 1933 purporting to be for appointed personnel, Stitely submitted a different set of names beginning with August 15, 1933, also purporting to be for appointed personnel. He continued with these same names every 2 weeks (with the exception of one period, September 1 to September 15, 1933) until March 31, 1937.

Agents interviewed Lt. Col. E. C. Morton, finance officer, United States Army, for the Washington field office, and Mr. Spencer Burroughs, chief clerk under Lieutenant Colonel Morton. Lieutenant Colonel Morton stated that since the authorization submitted by Stitely appeared to be authentic he felt obliged to pay these vouchers and to deliver the checks to him so long as they appeared to be certified by the proper certifying officer, J. R. Lassiter.

Mr. Burroughs informed agents that, although the six camps at Shenandoah National Park sent their pay rolls through the usual channels for payment, he was not suspicious of Stitely when the latter told him that a representative from Shenandoah National Park was coming to Washington every pay day on official business and would take the checks back with him.

Mr. Burroughs further stated that Stitely brought along the original and two copies of said pay-roll vouchers; that upon delivery of said checks the original was sent to the General Accounting Office, one copy retained for the War Department files, and one copy given back to Stitely for the National Park Service files. Superintendent Lassiter stated that since the fall of 1934 the War Department required him to submit the addresses of all persons on the E. C. W. pay rolls; that since that time all checks were mailed directly to these employees.

The fact that none of these vouchers were ever posted to the E. C. W. allotment ledgers, either at the Washington office, National Park Service, or at Shenandoah National Park, indicates that Stitely never turned these vouchers over to the bookkeeping unit.

Stitely appeared to have no difficulty in cashing the checks or depositing same to any one of the numerous banking accounts which he had at the Washington Loan & Trust Co.

At this point it may be appropriate to present a picture of the accounting procedure agreed upon in 1933 between the Army Finance Office and the other departments of the Government handling E. C. W. work. Mr. E. E. Tillett, who was then chief accountant for the National Park Service (now field supervisor, E. C. W., for Territory of Hawaii), represented the Department of the Interior. An agreement was reached whereby the Army Finance Office would allocate the E. C. W. vouchers submitted by the Department of the Interior into the following groups, namely, State Parks, National Parks, General Land Office, Reclamation Service.

Later a further allocation was made of E. C. W. vouchers pertaining to the Virgin Islands, the Territory of Hawaii, and Hawaii National Park. The symbol F D 570 was designated for National Parks and F D 580 for State parks. The Accounts Section, National Park Service, found this allocation practically valueless for the reason that the War Department did not show the field station issuing the vouchers.

After 3 years had elapsed, the National Park Service requested the Chief of Finance, War Department, to furnish information showing payments for each field station. Accordingly, beginning with July 1936, the Chief of Finance submitted monthly statements showing payments made by subprocurement authorities.

Example: Acadia National Park was assigned No. 5501P; Crater Lake National Park, 5502P, etc., to 5599; State parks began with

5601-5699; Territory of Hawaii from 5700-5799; Hawaii National Park from 5800-5899; Virgin Islands from 5900-5999; Isle Royale from 6000-6099; Reclamation Service from 6100-6199.

This tabulation showed a procurement code symbol (purpose number) voucher number, date paid, amount paid, and other pertinent information.

Mr. George R. Taylor, Assistant Chief, Office of the Chief of Finance, United States Army, informed agents that his office could have arranged their system in 1933 to provide for this allocation had the National Park Service made such request. Since July 1936 up to the date of this investigation the tabulations furnished by the Office of the Chief of Finance, United States Army, had not been audited by the National Park Service, Washington office, nor by the Field Audit Division, National Park Service. The latter division has several auditors assigned to checking the field stations. However, the vouchers paid by the finance officers of the United States Army were never verified with the National Park Service field station allotment ledgers.

Stitely wasted no time in taking advantage of the situation, for he began drawing on the E. C. W. funds in July 1933 just as soon as they were available. He could feel reasonably certain to escape detection just so long as the above-mentioned reconciliation was not effected.

VOUCHERS OTHER THAN E. C. W.

The same principle applied to vouchers other than E. C. W., except that Stitely had to secure an authentic certification of a duly authorized certifying officer before he could pass these spurious vouchers for payment. The certifying officer did not obtain signature cards from the approving officers, as he relied on Stitely to determine the correctness and authenticity of the vouchers; consequently, no difficulty was encountered in securing the certification of any voucher, provided it bore the initials of Reno E. Stitely.

Prior to 1934, when the National Park Service was disbursing its own funds, the disbursing officer, R. L. Lassly, acting chief disbursing clerk, relied on the approval of R. M. Holmes, Chief Clerk, National Park Service, before paying a voucher. Mr. Holmes, in a great many instances, did not know the signature of the person signing the voucher but relied on its authenticity and correctness because it was initialed by Reno E. Stitely.

In the files which Mr. Oliver G. Taylor submitted to agents there was found a copy of a pay roll for the period June 1 to June 30, 1933, appropriation 4X436, roads and trails, national parks, bearing the name of Patrick W. Ickes, employed as a senior laborer. The amount paid Ickes was \$17. The pay roll which was passed through for payment had the same name and amount on the first line. However, seven names were added thereto. The paid voucher amounted to \$724, less economy deductions of \$108.60, or a net total of \$615.40. The latter amount was posted to the allotment ledgers and a monthly statement furnished Mr. Taylor. Had this monthly statement of costs and expenditures been checked by Mr. Taylor the error would have been located. The same sort of error could have been found as early as November 1932, when a copy of pay roll voucher on file in Mr. Taylor's office for the period October 1 to October 15, 1932, showed the amount of \$47.67, whereas the voucher paid amounted to \$99.

With respect to the June 1933 voucher, referred to above, Mr. Taylor stated in a memorandum, which is incorporated in the supplemental criminal report (exhibit 3) that the signature thereon appears to be his genuine signature; that he never signed any pay roll carrying any of the names appearing on it except that of Patrick W. Ickes.

Since Mr. Taylor does not claim that his name was forged to this voucher, and since the amount of the paid voucher does not agree with the "copy" in his files, it appears reasonable to presume that Mr. Taylor signed the original voucher before the amounts were inserted thereon.

ACCOUNTING PROCEDURE—WASHINGTON OFFICE

Submitted herewith is a memorandum (exhibit A, not printed in record) from Mr. Perry D. Edwards, Acting Chief of the Accounting Section, National Park Service, dated May 13, 1937, which describes the accounting system in use in the Accounts Section of the National Park Service, Washington office. On page 2, paragraph 2 of this memorandum the statement is made that the accounts payable have not been reconciled since June 1933, and the field allotment ledgers have not been audited for 4 or 5 months. Furthermore, the control accounts have not been posted since December 1936, nor has a statement of balances been prepared since December 1936.

The procedure for "checking out" is set forth in detail by Mr. F. W. Watson, Chief, Audit Division, Accounts Section, National Park Service, in memorandums dated May 20 and May 28, 1937, exhibits B and B-1, respectively (not printed in record).

Both Mr. Watson and Mr. Edwards believe that after the paid schedules of disbursements were returned by the chief disbursing officer and were checked against the daily summaries of disbursements Stitely withdrew the vouchers and the paid schedules before they could be checked against the allotment ledgers to ascertain if properly posted. Both of these officials admit that the work has been far in arrears for the past several years. The checking out does not appear to have been done systematically. If the clerks had caught up with the current work they would have spent a little time on the work in arrears. It is the opinion of agents that the clerks assigned to this work did not make a complete audit, otherwise some of these spurious vouchers would have been detected.

COMMENTS

The principal reason these defalcations were permitted to continue for such a long period of time (nearly 5 years) can be attributed to the following:

1. Failure to reconcile accounts payable.
2. Failure of approving officers to examine the monthly statements of costs and expenditures for any improper charges made against their funds.

There were at least two methods which would have disclosed any irregularities, namely:

- (a) A reconciliation with the general ledger, which could have been effected by adding to the unencumbered balance the unliquidated encumbrances and unpaid vouchers (accounts payable).
- (b) Ascertain that all vouchers were posted to the allotment ledgers.

If the above methods had been followed, there remained but one possibility to pass an illegal voucher, namely—negligence on the part of the approving officer to examine the monthly statement of costs and expenditures.

HANDWRITING

Dr. Wilmer Souder, handwriting expert for the National Bureau of Standards, has examined 566 Treasury checks bearing Stitely's endorsement and is convinced that 388 of these checks bear the endorsement of the payees in the handwriting of Reno E. Stitely; that 166 other checks have been forged, probably by Stitely, and the remaining 12 cannot be proved definitely to have been forged by Stitely.

Dr. Souder has also examined 97 pay-roll vouchers, of which he states 5 were forged by Stitely. The remaining 92 vouchers bear traced signatures of various approving officers. However, all checks were cashed by Stitely.

CONCLUSION

The submission of numerous fictitious vouchers by Stitely would have been fruitless unless he secured possession of the checks.

It is inconceivable that the National Park Service would authorize any person connected with the voucher unit engaged in the preparation of pay-roll vouchers to receive checks from the disbursing officers for delivery to the persons named on said pay-roll vouchers.

The records in the Washington office of the National Park Service have not been audited in several years. Neither has a proper audit of E. C. W. funds been made, either in the Washington office of the National Park Service or its numerous field stations.

It would require at this time at least six auditors the better part of a year's time to make a proper check of E. C. W. funds paid for the Department of the Interior.

Unless this check is made it will be impossible to ascertain the number of persons who have taken advantage of the opportunity to unjustly enrich themselves.

SUGGESTIONS

It is suggested that—

1. The system of authorizing persons engaged in the preparation of vouchers to receive checks from the Treasury Department for delivery to persons named on said vouchers be abolished.

2. Request be made to the chief disbursing officer, Mr. G. F. Allen, to submit separate accounts current covering the following:

- (a) Transactions of the National Park Service, Washington office accounts.

- (b) Transactions of the National Park Service field office accounts.

3. The Accounts Section, National Park Service, be required to prepare and submit monthly a statement of control covering all transactions relative to the accounts maintained in the Washington office.

Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. LEWIS, and other Senators addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nevada yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield first to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I do not know anything about the matter to which the Senator has been referring, but in this connection I wish to ask him about another matter. It seems that this man Stitely has been convicted, has he not?

Mr. PITTMAN. He has pleaded guilty.

Mr. McKELLAR. He has pleaded guilty; and the remarkable thing is that after he has pleaded guilty to the embezzlement or procurement by corrupt methods of a very large sum of public funds—\$85,000, I believe, or in that neighborhood—his punishment is being held up by the court awaiting a report from a probation officer. Is that usual and customary in such cases?

Mr. PITTMAN. The committee was informed that that is the practice in this district.

Mr. McKELLAR. Then it is a practice which ought to be attended to by Congress, and it ought to be prohibited

by law, because when a man pleads guilty to embezzlement, certainly in an amount like that, and forgery of names and accounts, surely there ought not to be any question of probation for him.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. I ask the Senator from Nevada whether the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ickes, has supervision of the subject referred to in this report, and whether the Secretary has been informed and has been before the committee with regard to the matter in question. If so, I ask what he has to say upon this subject; or has he been queried as to why this embezzlement occurred and the responsibility for it?

Mr. PITTMAN. The Senator asks several somewhat involved questions at once.

Mr. LEWIS. Yes; because of my interest in the Secretary of the Interior, who is from my State, and my anxiety that his record be held clean, if it is clean.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. Ickes has jurisdiction over the Park Service. The Secretary of the Interior was the first witness before the committee. He was asked no questions concerning this matter, I believe. He was interrogated first with regard to the qualifications of Mr. Burlew and why he desired his confirmation as Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. Burlew, however, was interrogated with regard to this matter. Apparently he knew very little about it, and he seemed to think it was rather the fault of the War Department. The representatives of the War Department have been before the committee, and have testified that the only function placed upon them was to disburse the money on approved vouchers of various bureaus of the Department. That is where the matter now stands.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President—

Mr. PITTMAN. I yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. GEORGE. I ask the Senator from Nevada whether the Comptroller General has any responsibility with respect to pay-roll vouchers of this kind?

Mr. PITTMAN. So far as the testimony before the committee at the present time shows, he has not.

Mr. GEORGE. They do not pass through his office after the disbursement has been made to the National Park Service?

Mr. PITTMAN. No.

Mr. GEORGE. The transaction is purely interdepartmental then?

Mr. PITTMAN. Yes.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I observe the absence of a quorum, and ask that the roll be called.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Clark	Johnson, Calif.	Pepper
Andrews	Connally	Johnson, Colo.	Pittman
Ashurst	Copeland	King	Pope
Austin	Davis	La Follette	Radcliffe
Bailey	Donahay	Lewis	Reynolds
Bankhead	Duffy	Lodge	Russell
Barkley	Ellender	Logan	Schwartz
Berry	Frazier	Lonergan	Schwellenbach
Bilbo	George	Lundeen	Sheppard
Bone	Gibson	McAdoo	Shipstead
Borah	Gillette	McCarran	Smathers
Bridges	Glass	McGill	Smith
Brown, Mich.	Guffey	McKellar	Steiwer
Brown, N. H.	Hale	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Bulkeley	Harrison	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Bulow	Hatch	Minton	Townsend
Burke	Hayden	Neely	Truman
Byrnes	Herring	Norris	Tydings
Capper	Hill	Nye	Vandenberg
Caraway	Hitchcock	O'Mahoney	Van Nuys
Chavez	Holt	Overton	Walsh

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are absent because of colds.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIETERICH], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] are detained on important public business.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is absent, attending the inauguration of the Governor of Virginia.

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MILLER] is absent, attending a meeting of the project committee of the Rivers and Harbors Congress.

I ask that this announcement be entered for the day.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-four Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

INDIAN CREDIT OPERATIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, reporting relative to the status as of June 30, 1937, and December 31, 1937, of credit operations under authority of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), and the Oklahoma General Welfare Act of June 26, 1936 (49 Stat. 1967), which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

CANCELATION OF REIMBURSABLE CHARGES AGAINST INDIANS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting for the approval of Congress, in accordance with the requirement of law, cancellations and adjustments of reimbursable charges of the Government existing as debts against certain individual Indians or tribes of Indians, as recommended by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Local No. 29, of the United Federal Workers of America, favoring the prompt enactment of House bill 8428, to provide for the hearing and disposition of employee appeals from discriminatory treatment by superiors in the Federal service, which was referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

He also laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Local No. 29 and Local No. 57, of Detroit, Mich., both of the United Federal Workers of America, favoring the enactment of House bill 8431, establishing a 5-day workweek in the Federal service, and for other purposes, which were referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

He also laid before the Senate a letter in the nature of a petition from the United Wholesale and Warehouse Employees of New York, N. Y., praying for the prompt enactment of the bill (H. R. 1507) to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws and to punish the crime of lynching, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a memorial from the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, Detroit, Mich., protesting against any curtailment in the appropriation for the National Labor Relations Board, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WALSH presented a resolution adopted by Conseil No. 258, L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, Adams, Mass., protesting against pending or proposed foreign trade agreements as they may affect the shoe and textile industries of New England, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. COPELAND presented petitions of sundry citizens of New York City and vicinity, praying for the enactment of legislation to increase the compensation of laborers in the custodial service, which were referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

He also presented the petition of members of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Mechanicville, N. Y., praying for the enactment of the so-called Neely-Pettengill bill pertaining to the block book-

ing of motion-picture films, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of New York City and vicinity, praying for the adoption of the so-called Ludlow amendment to the Constitution providing referenda on war, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a resolution adopted by Miller Grange, No. 442, Patrons of Husbandry, of Truxton, N. Y., protesting against the enactment of the bill (S. 2970) to provide for reorganizing agencies of the Government, extending the classified civil service, establishing a general auditing office and a department of welfare, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. GEORGE presented the following resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, which was ordered to lie on the table:

Whereas there is now pending before the Congress of the United States what is known as the antilynching bill, same being little calculated to confer benefit upon any part of this country and same being an unwarranted and unnecessary affront to the Southern States and being a brazen attempt to politically capitalize upon bigoted prejudice: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, That it commends the action of the southern Senators in the United States Congress for their brave and tenacious fight against this unjust measure and hopes for them success in the continuance of their fight.

ADDITIONAL COPIES OF PART 3, SENATE REPORT NO. 46—VIOLATIONS OF FREE SPEECH AND RIGHTS OF LABOR

Mr. HAYDEN. From the Committee on Printing, I report back favorably, without amendment, a resolution for which I ask immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 223) submitted by Mr. LA FOLLETTE on the 18th instant was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed 5,000 additional copies of Senate Report No. 46, part 3, current Congress, on violations of free speech and rights of labor, of which 1,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate document room and 4,000 copies for the use of the Senate Subcommittee on Education and Labor conducting the investigation.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3274) for the relief of Jack Mattson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:

A bill (S. 3275) for the relief of the personal representative of James L. McDonnell; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WALSH:

A bill (S. 3276) to amend the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 3277) to authorize alterations and repairs to certain naval vessels, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 3278) to provide for the reimbursement of Donald W. Supernois, fireman first class, United States Navy, for the value of personal effects lost while engaged in emergency relief expeditions during the Ohio Valley flood, in February 1937; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 3279) to designate United States Highway No. 6 as the "Grand Army of the Republic Highway"; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 3280) placing provisional officers of the World War in the same status with emergency officers of the World War and extending to them the same benefits and privileges as are now or may hereafter be provided by law, orders, and regulations for said emergency officers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 3281) to amend Public Law No. 467, Seventy-third Congress (Federal Credit Union Act), approved June 26, 1934; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BILBO:

A bill (S. 3282) to amend the law with respect to robbery in the District of Columbia to provide that such crime may be punished as a capital offense; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were each read twice by their titles and referred as indicated below:

H. R. 8524. An act authorizing the completion of the existing project for the protection of the sea wall at Galveston, Tex.; to the Committee on Commerce.

H. R. 8947. An act making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

PREVENTION OF AND PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHING

Mr. McKELLAR submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the amendment of Mr. LEWIS, as modified, to the bill (H. R. 1507) to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws and to punish the crime of lynching, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT TO INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. McNARY submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$25,000 for the restoration and preservation of the home of Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Co. and father of the Oregon country, at Oregon City, Oreg., as a historic American building in accordance with law, intended to be proposed by him to the Interior Department Appropriation bill, 1939, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PRODUCTIVE EXPANSION OF INDUSTRY—ADDRESS BY SENATOR DAVIS

[Mr. McNARY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Senator DAVIS at the twenty-fifth annual convention of the Pennsylvania Thresherman's Protective Association at Harrisburg, Pa., on January 18, which appears in the Appendix.]

PREVENTION OF AND PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHING

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1507) to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws and to punish the crime of lynching.

The VICE PRESIDENT. When the Senate took a recess yesterday, the RECORD shows that the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] was to be recognized today under a sort of gentlemen's agreement. With the permission of the Senator from Louisiana, the Chair would like to make a statement concerning what the Chair understands to be the parliamentary situation as it applies to the pending piece of legislation.

The rules of the Senate specifically provide, and for more than 100 years have provided, that a Senator may make only two speeches on any one question "on the same day." That brings up the question, What is a day? There is nothing in the printed rules of the Senate defining a "day"; but on a number of occasions the Senate has acquiesced in the ruling of the Presiding Officer that where recesses instead of adjournments are taken, the word "day" means the legislative day, regardless of the number of calendar days that may be embraced in it.

In other words, we are still in one legislative day on this bill. Therefore no Senator may speak more than twice on this legislative day on the particular question pending, which is the amendment of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS] as modified.

What constitutes a speech? The Senate has changed its rulings on that subject a number of times. Up until 3 years ago, when the late Senator from Louisiana, Mr. Long, was addressing the Senate, when a Senator asked unanimous consent to insert matter in the RECORD, as the Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN] did a moment ago, that was not regarded as a second speech; it continued to be part of the first speech. Technically speaking, however, the Senate

ruled with reference to the late Senator from Louisiana, Mr. Long, that when he yielded for the purpose of a quorum, or for a unanimous-consent agreement for any purpose, even asking unanimous consent himself to address the Senate or to insert matter in the Record, that constituted another speech.

If the Senate desires to adhere to that ruling, that is its affair. If the present occupant of the chair is in the chair when the question arises, he is going to submit the question to the Senate, because the Senate never has officially, by record vote or otherwise, expressed itself upon the subject. The Chair thinks the Senate is the proper body to determine just how it wishes to limit its debate. It seems that the Senate has, in effect, two sets of rules—one for the ordinary transaction of business, the other when the Senate desires to restrain the transaction of business, by a minority or otherwise.

So that Senators may understand the matter in the future, the Chair is going to apply the rules and the precedents of the Senate in a technical manner. That is to say, when the Senator from Louisiana yields, except for a question, he loses the floor. It constitutes one speech. It does not make any difference what he yields for, with the exception of a question, because if a Senator asks unanimous consent for one purpose it is just as important as it is for another purpose.

May the Chair be permitted to illustrate? If the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] were here at the moment and should ask unanimous consent that the pending bill, with the amendment of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], be considered as engrossed, read a third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider laid on the table, and the Senate agreed to it, that would be business, would it not?

If a Senator makes a request for unanimous consent to insert matter in the Record as a part of his remarks, or for a roll call, the consent of the Senate must be obtained, and, in the opinion of the Chair, one consent, technically speaking, is just as important as another consent.

The Chair holds that when a Senator is addressing the Senate and yields for the granting of unanimous consent it constitutes business.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. CONNALLY. A parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Just a moment. The Senator from Texas has risen to propound a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, does the rule which provides that a Senator shall not speak more than twice on the same day on any question mean that he may speak twice on any amendment, or any bill, or any motion, or any other question which properly comes before the Senate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator states the parliamentary situation correctly.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I rise to propound a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Under the ruling of the Chair, what would be the effect of a speech on a subject entirely different from the question pending? For instance, yesterday the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] made a speech on the T. V. A., and if I were to secure the floor for the purpose of making a reply to that speech, would I be in order?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee would be in order. He can speak on any subject whatever, but he can speak only twice on the particular question pending before the Senate, which is the amendment, as modified, of the Senator from Illinois. No matter what subject the Senator discusses, his remarks will be counted against him as one speech.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Chair.

Mr. WALSH. A parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. WALSH. Will the ruling of the Chair prevent Senators from filing petitions and introducing bills at the clerk's desk?

The VICE PRESIDENT. No; it does not apply to such business in any sense of the word. When the Senate meets and a Senator rises and introduces a bill, that does not constitute a speech on the pending question.

Mr. WALSH. If I desire to introduce some bills and ask the consent of the Senator from Louisiana for that privilege, will he lose the floor if he yields?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator understands that petitions, memorials, and private bills can be introduced by being presented at the desk; but if a Senator desires to introduce a public measure, he will have to get unanimous consent of the Senate, which would constitute business.

Mr. WALSH. And that would take the Senator from the floor?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That would take the Senator from the floor. The Chair may remind Senators that the power of recognition is in the Chair. If a Senator asks unanimous consent, the Chair can recognize another Senator if he happens to be standing, but it is the custom of the present occupant of the chair, and of all others who preside in the Senate, to continue to recognize the Senator who has the floor; but the power of recognition resides in the Chair when a Senator who has the floor yields the floor, technically or otherwise.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I rise to make a parliamentary observation. In my opinion, the Vice President has lucidly and definitely stated the rule, and he has my hearty concurrence.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. BORAH. Assuming that a Senator has the floor and is addressing the Senate, and is interrupted by a Senator for a question; is such an interruption permitted under the rule?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is. Under the precedents a Senator may yield for a question, but if a Senator permits himself to be interrupted and yields to a Senator for other purposes than a question, then it may be held that he has spoken once, and he may lose the floor. The Senator from Louisiana has the floor.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, when the Senate took a recess yesterday I had concluded reading from early Egyptian history and had shown that as long as the Egyptian nation was under the control and under the influence of white rulers, civilization progressed, but that just as soon as there was a mixture of that pure white race with the colored race, a mongrelized race followed, and, as a consequence, decay.

I want my position understood on this subject, especially by the vast number of Negroes who now live in this country, our wards, as I consider them. The remarks I have heretofore made and the remarks I intend to make are not to be taken by those Negroes to mean that I do not respect their principles. I do. I would be the last man on earth to do anything to hurt the Negro race. I am merely bringing out these points to show that if America is to advance, if our civilization is to progress, I do not want the inventive genius which seems to permeate the people of our Nation to be in any wise hampered. I want our country to continue to go forward, to retain her prestige and supremacy as a world power, not only for the benefit of the white race but for the benefit and good of the colored race as well, because, as I have argued in the past and have been able to show, let me say to the Senator from Washington [Mr. SCHWELLENBACH], whenever the white race in other countries has remained at the head of the government, progress has been maintained, and on the other hand, when the mongrel became the ruler, he suffered, and his civilization decayed.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I should like to ask the Senator whether progress to which he refers has been any faster progress than that we are making with the speech of the Senator from Louisiana. [Laughter.]

Mr. ELLENDER. In answer to the Senator from Washington, I am egoist enough to believe—and I state this confidently—that I have not yet started what I would term a filibuster on the pending bill, if that is what is in his mind. When we refer to filibustering on a question, I deem it to mean that any kind of a book on any subject foreign to what is before the Senate is discussed just to consume time. I consider that should I pursue that course, that will mean filibustering. The fact is that, although I have apparently been long-winded on this subject, the points I have developed up to the present, in my humble opinion, required the time I have devoted to them in order to make my position clear. The Senator will recall that in the early part of my speech I stated I felt the bill we were considering did not have much to do with the prevention of lynching—that the question involved presented a social problem. There are at this time on the calendar of the House of Representatives bills which would have a tendency to give a little more social equality to the Negro, I may say, than he now has. If such bills are passed, I claim that just as surely as I am standing here there will be trouble. There is pending in the House of Representatives a bill to repeal the so-called southern Jim Crow law through Federal legislation. The Senator knows what that law is. It provides that in the South colored people and white people can ride in the same conveyances, but the operator of a carrier must provide separate compartments for the Negroes and the whites.

If the House of Representatives shall consider the bill to repeal the Jim Crow law, these cliques of colored people I described yesterday, located in Harlem, in Chicago, and in other places in the United States, will become a little more brazen in their demands and will say to the House of Representatives and to the Senate, "Boys, you have succeeded very well in having the antilynching bill passed. Now there is a bill before the House of Representatives to repeal the Jim Crow law, and we expect you boys to get together and 'deliver'; and if you do not, we may not vote for you the next time you come up for election."

I do not infer that any Member of the Senate is making such promises, but that is what is in the minds of their Negro constituents who are advocating such measures. And I believe that the same strategy prompted the action of the legislators in the States of the Union where the statutes to which I referred yesterday and the day before and the day before were adopted.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may ask another question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. When the Senator starts to discuss the Jim Crow law, will he not keep in mind that we passed a 70-car bill last spring, and the Senator will not have to talk quite as long as if that bill had not been passed. [Laughter.]

Mr. ELLENDER. That measure related primarily to freight trains. We have never heard of 70-car passenger trains. [Laughter.] That measure to which the Senator refers relates to freight. I did not expect in the course of this debate to touch upon that subject.

I repeat that I hold no bitterness against the Negro race. On the contrary, I sympathize with them. I do not believe there is a man in the Senate who has greater compassion for them. I yield to none when it comes to the question of a sympathetic understanding for the colored race and its problems. At some future time—not during the present speech—I propose to show the Senate what the South has done for the Negro race, and particularly what Louisiana, my native State, has done for it. We have not drawn the color line there when it comes to providing hospitalization, when it comes to furnishing Federal work, as we are doing now, or furnishing relief for the economic situation in which the colored man finds himself. When we in Louisiana abolished the tax from the home owner we did not exclude the colored man. On the contrary, we were glad to extend that privilege to him.

I have in my pocket a picture as evidence to show the respect and the admiration the South as a whole has for the law-abiding Negro. I received a post card this morning, sent from a town in Natchitoches Parish, La. On that post card appears the picture of a monument to an old-time Negro, who stands on a granite pedestal with hat in hand, respectfully bowing his head, and on that pedestal is inscribed a tribute by the southern people to the colored race:

Erected by the city of Natchitoches, La., in grateful recognition of the arduous and faithful service of the good darkies of Louisiana.

Mr. President, we in the South have no feeling of hatred against the Negro. We are sympathetic toward him. We understand his problems. We work with him. But what we try to do, what we have always done, and what I hope we always shall do, is to have the colored man keep his place when it comes to the social side of our associations. We do not feel that the Negroes as a race should commingle socially with the white people or marry white people, so that from that union shall come a mongrel race, as happened in Egypt, as happened in India, as has resulted in Haiti, and is happening in Harlem in the city of New York.

I shall read to the Senate some very interesting things about that very matter. It will be found from a study of history dealing with that question that when the Negro gains what he goes after by reason of sheer numbers, the first institution that goes down to destruction, as it were, that is trampled upon, that is ridiculed, is religion. In considering the early history of Egypt it will be found that the early inhabitants of Egypt believed in the immortality of the soul.

In a measure they believed in a good many principles of religion which we now believe in. But just as soon as the Negro domination occurred, the people went back to idolatry. They went back to barbaric beliefs of religion. They considered goats to be their gods. They worshiped other animals and even revered onions and other vegetables as their gods. They reverted back to dark Africa for their idols.

I am able to show through facts that the same condition resulted with respect to the Hindus. I can prove that the same situation has occurred in Haiti. I am going to show that in the United States, in Harlem, the great Father Divine, a Negro, is thought to be "God" by his followers. That shows the extent of fanaticism to which the Negro race will go if let alone. There is no place in this country of ours where they are permitted to go so far, unrestricted, other than Harlem, which is more thickly populated with Negroes than with whites. In that particular locality it seems that they are permitted to do what they please.

In the course of the debate I am going to read some of the principles advocated by Father Divine; and Lord pity Mississippi, for instance, where the Negro population is 50 percent of the total population, if Father Divine were to come down into that State, take charge of the ignorant blacks, and put his religion through. I am going to read, later on in the debate, how the present mayor of New York, Mr. LaGuardia, came to Harlem and prayed with Father Divine and his Negro congregation. There are certain very interesting occurrences that I propose to present to the Senate later on in order to prove my point and to further show that we must deal with this Negro question not from the viewpoint of politics but from a higher viewpoint. It goes beyond that. I repeat, it even goes beyond the Constitution.

I shall now read from the pages of history insofar as it affects the Hindu race and its downfall; and I am going to try to demonstrate again, as I think I have previously demonstrated with reference to the Egyptian civilization, how it tottered, how it turned to ashes, how that great civilization crumbled down to nothing, so that when the Persians conquered Egypt, instead of conquering a country having a civilization that would be such as to repay them for their conquest as spoils of war, they found nothing there. Victory meant more burdens for the Persians. The proud civilization of Egypt was no more.

Let me go back to the pages of history of India. What I read may be dry, but it is authentic. I shall refer to the book entitled "Race or Mongrel," by Schultz, the book from which I read yesterday with reference to the Egyptians.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, what is the date of the treatise, may I ask?

Mr. ELLENDER. The first impression of the book was July 1903.

I read chapter X:

CHAPTER X THE HINDUS

The Hindus were one of the Aryan races. That is, they belonged to the people that called themselves "Aryans" (the noble, the honorable). When they came to India, they found there a mass of yellow-black-white mongrels, and recognized that the absorption of this mass was impossible. They also recognized that crossing with these people would destroy the Hindus quickly.

Senators, that is far back, over 4,000 years ago, when those people thought as later did Jefferson, Lincoln, Clay, Webster, Grant, and as many other statesmen of more recent years have thought.

The Hindus were fanatical Aryans, and among the yellow-black-white mongrels, they developed an intense exclusiveness. They described the old inhabitants of the country as Dasyus, Rakshasas, fiendish creatures, and monsters. When allied to them, they speak of their allies as monkeys and of their king as the king of monkeys.

In the Veda we find these sentiments:

"Indra hurl thy shaft against the Dasyu, and increase the might and glory of the Arya."

"Distinguish Indra the Arya and those who are Dasyu."

"Indra having killed the Dasyu, protected the Aryan color."

"I do not give over the Aryan name to the Dasyu."

"Indra, increase the Aryan power."

"Indra, the companion of the Arya."

"Indra uncovered the light for the Arya. The Dasyus was left on the left hand."

"I gave the earth to the Arya and rain to the liberal mortals."

"The gods spread all over the earth the Aryan laws."

Arya was considered a name of honor. Darius calls himself Ariya and Ariya kitra, an Aryan and of Aryan descent. The same element enters into many Persian names, Ariaramnes, Ariobazanes, Artabages, Artaxerxes.

The Hindus recognized that, unless they took vigorous precautions, the Aryans would soon be lost in the mongrel herd. To protect themselves they invented the caste system, one of the greatest inventions of the human mind.

It is of historic record why today in India we find so many castes. In its early history the castes were established in order to preserve the purity of the whites; and although the caste system still prevails, it is not now composed of white persons, because among the castes mongrelization crept in.

The Aryans were the three upper castes, viz, the Brahmins, Cshatriyas, and Vaisyas. The classes they called varna, which meant color, and has since come to mean caste. The priests, who, among primitive people, are the observers, scientists, artists, and poets, constituted themselves the first caste, the caste of the Brahmins. They were of the purest Aryan blood. The Aryans of warlike tendencies were constituted as the Cshatriya caste, and the rest of the Hindus were constituted as the Vaisya caste, the householders, the merchants, and the cultivators of the soil.

The importance of the Vaisya caste was recognized by the Hindus. The Manava-Dharma-Sastra says: "The means of subsistence peculiar to Vaisya are merchandise, attending on cattle and agriculture; but with a view to the next life; * * * with vigilant care should the king exert himself in compelling merchants and mechanics to perform their respective duties; for when such men swerve from their duty, they throw this world into confusion."

The rights of each caste were rendered hereditary and inalienable. The king himself could not abrogate the rights of caste. Outside of these three castes there were no Aryans, no twice-born men. The natives were constituted as a fourth caste, the Sudra. Their monopoly was the laborious and humble work, and their condition was better than that of the helots or serfs elsewhere; for it was strictly enjoined upon the three upper castes to treat the Sudra well. The Hindus considered it just that intelligence should rule, and that muscle should work. Their assumption, which underlies the caste system, that intelligence and the better qualities were characteristics of the Aryan and not of the Sudra, their history of 5,000 years verified.

The Hindus were never more than a small minority of the people of India; and of the people of India, the Hindus alone produced art, science, literature, civilization.

There again, Senators, this historian states—and I am going to produce more evidence to the same effect; it is here on my desk—that in India, as in Egypt, art, science, literature, and civilization progressed as long as the race main-

tained its purity; but just as soon as the nation was mongrelized it became degraded; its civilization deteriorated, as was the case in Egypt, and as I propose to show, is the case in Haiti.

I continue reading:

As the Vaisyas were not as pure Aryans as the Cshatriyas and the Cshatriyas not as pure as the Brahmins it was ordained that the different castes should not intermarry. Manava-Dharma-Sastra says: "In all classes they, and they only, who are born in a direct line of wives equal in class and virgins at the time of marriage are to be considered as the same class with their fathers. * * * A woman of the servile classes is not mentioned, even in the recital of any ancient story as the wife of a Brahman or of a Cshatriya, though in the greatest difficulty to find a suitable match."

The intermarriage of the members of one caste with members of another caste was strictly prohibited.

As I have pointed out, here in America there are 18 States which permit marriages between Negroes and whites; all other States prevent such marriages. Peoples who lived away back 4,000 years before Christ were trying to prevent the same condition that I am trying to prevent here by my humble efforts, because they felt that to give the inferior civilization social equality would mean the degradation of their nation and the decay of their civilization; and they were right—

The Madana-Ratna-Pradipa says: "The marriage of twice-born men with damsels not of the same class * * * these parts of ancient law were abrogated by wise legislators."

"From a Cshatriya with a wife of the Sudra class springs a creature called Ugra, with a nature partly warlike and partly servile, ferocious in his manners, cruel in his acts. * * * Him who was born of a sinful mother and consequently in a low class, but is not openly known, who, though worthless in truth, bears the semblance of a worthy man, let people discover by his acts. Want of virtuous dignity, harshness of speech, cruelty, and habitual neglect of prescribed duties betray in this world the son of a criminal mother."

There were in India savage tribes unable to perform the duties of the Sudra class. These miserable tribes the Hindus called Miekha. They were also gained over to the Brahmanical system. The Brahmins went as hermits into the settlements of the Miekha, and preached their system of metempsychosis, and were cut down. Other Brahmins came to take their places. They again were killed. Still others came; and the cheerfulness with which these men went to suffering and death struck terror into the souls of the natives, who began to question, "Who are these men?"

And this answer was returned, "We are the most exalted of men; kings bow down before us. We have reached this station not without desert; and in the next life we shall become one with Brahma, the god of gods, a unit in the divine essence. In previous lives we were as miserable as you are. Believe us, be virtuous and dutiful, and you will become exalted. The virtuous Miekha is reborn as a Sudra, the virtuous Sudra as a Vaisya, the virtuous Vaisya as a Cshatriya, the virtuous Cshatriya as a Brahman, and the virtuous Brahman as one with the divinity. On the other hand, the Brahman who neglects his duties will be punished in hell and be reborn as a Sudra, a Miekha, or lower even in the scale of life." The Hindus had no eternal hell. As the son of a Sudra may thus attain the rank of a Brahman, and as the son of a Brahman may sink to the level with the Sudras, even so much it be with him who springs from a Cshatriya; even so with him who was born of a Vaisya (v. Manava-Dharma-Sastra).

The conviction of the Brahmins convinced the Miekha, and they were ready to become the lowest order of the Brahmanical system.

There were Hindus in India who disregarded the caste system, and a half-breed population began to spring up. The Hindus, intent on keeping their race pure, sought to remedy the evil. It was not always possible to strike at the parents, and so they struck at the offspring. They declared the half-breed population Chandalas. They were considered the most contemptible of the base born; their touch was polluting, a pollution of which the Cshatriya could purify himself by cutting the Chandala down. The brook that they had taken water from was cursed. Their places of refuge were to be destroyed. They were refused admission into villages and cities. That was the law. Its enforcement was prevented by the gentleness of the Hindu character. The Chandala was despised, but he lived; lived in villages that the Hindu had the right to burn down. The contempt in which the Chandala was held had this good effect: it prevented the mongrelization of the Hindus for several thousand years. History attests that the Chandala fully deserved the contempt which the Hindus entertained for him.

About 500 B. C. Gautama Sacyamuni taught Buddhism. Brahmanism demanded active virtues; Buddhism was content with passive, cloistered virtues. Brahmanism demanded self-sacrifice and work—

Remember, Senators, that was the first religion of the Hindus, and, as I pointed out a while ago, decay began in these nations first with respect to their religion. That is what suffered first. From Brahmanism they fell as low, so

far as religion is concerned, as did the Egyptians. I repeat that a change in religion is the first sign of weakness, as I have pointed out in reading the Egyptian history and as is made plain now by Hindu history—

Buddhism was satisfied with the admission of sin, and established the confession. The sinner confessed to the priest that he was a scoundrel, and he promptly became a saint. Brahmanism taught purification by faith and virtue and final union with God (eternal life). Buddhism taught the confession and eternal death. Virtue in the Brahmanical sense meant the performance of duty, faith, self-abnegation, work. Contemplation and confession satisfied the Buddhists. It was but natural that this religion of ease soon found many followers; being the religion of a yellow, it appealed to the race instincts of the yellows.

Nothing demonstrates the superiority of the whites over the yellows better than the fact that for a thousand years Buddhism existed in India, without being able to change the Brahmanical order in the least. About A. D. 500 Buddhism considered itself strong enough to supplant Brahmanism. The result was war, which finally ended in the complete expulsion of Buddhism from India. This success the Brahmanical order achieved, notwithstanding the fact that it was continuously at war with foreign enemies.

After the time of the Sultan of Ghasna, the Brahmanical society did not have a moment's peace. After Mahmud's Persians, came the Turks, the Mongols, the Afghanists, the Persians of Nadir Shah, the Portuguese, the French, and the English. None of them was able to break the Brahmanical system.

Buddhism had this baneful effect upon India—that by disregarding the caste system the Buddhists increased the Chandala class enormously. The time came when there was no family without mongrel members; the meaning of varna was forgotten.

As I illustrated with reference to the Egyptians, their downfall came because of mongrelization. There resulted a change of religion, and when that came about decay ensued. In the case of the Hindus the identical followed. The change in religion indicated that mongrelization had taken hold, and with the mongrelization of the older Aryan people the former civilization of the white people of India was doomed.

It came to mean work, occupation; and the mongrel was no longer held in contempt, but the workman. The caste system, that wonderful invention which for millenniums enabled the Hindus to remain true to themselves, to produce art, science, a great religion, civilization, has become a curse and a folly. Why should there be a caste system where all are Chandalas? The white-yellow-black mongrel is worthless. As far as the progress of civilization, the progress of man is concerned, 300,000,000 rats might as well be fed as 300,000,000 mongrels. The caste system has no power to demongrelize blood.

In the last centuries Brahmanism has degenerated rapidly, and it is now fast crumbling to pieces; not because the English are in India, but because the impetus which the Hindus, before they became extinct, gave to it is expending itself. In a like manner the Roman system outlived the death of the last Roman by several centuries. The English rule India today; and that foreigners, Aryans, should rule the degenerate offspring of the Hindus is not only just but in accordance with the Hindu scriptures: "Indra is the companion of the Arya and increases the Aryan power; Indra gives the earth to the Arya and spreads all over the earth the Aryan laws." The literature of the Hindus is the only one in India deserving of the name. Sanskrit is the only language of poetry, drama, law, philosophy.

All of this, Senators, came from the early Hindu settlers in India, as I shall show more clearly and more specifically by reading from another author:

The deterioration of the Hindus can be traced through the centuries in their art, their science, their literature, and their religion.

Many surgical operations, which we consider triumphs of modern surgery, were invented by the Hindus. They were skilled in performing amputations, lithotomy, abdominal and uterine operations; they operated for hernia, fistula, piles; they set broken bones and had specialists in rhinoplasty or operations for restoring lost ears and noses, operations which modern surgeons have borrowed from them.

Just stop and think of that, Senators! All of this scientific development was brought about in India when the Aryans were at the head of India—were in charge of its government; and, as this author states, the modern scientists in America probably have borrowed some of the means and methods of those ancients in prescribing for the sick and the injured.

Today the medical and surgical knowledge of the mongrel calling himself Hindu is nil.

Why? For the same reason that prevailed in Egypt. Here was a country which, like Egypt, had become versed in science, in surgery, in art, and which progressed; but, as shown

by the author of the book from which I have been reading, the moment that country became mongrelized and the caste system wiped out, the moment the colored race was permitted to intermarry, to permeate and become a part of the blood of the old Indian civilization, decay set in, and the medical and surgical knowledge of India became and now is nil. There was no more progress.

The Hindus invented the so-called Arabic notation of numbers, and algebra; today they have no mathematical science deserving of the name.

Just stop and think of that. They started the Arabic system of numerals, but today we here in America and the white inhabitants of other countries, picking up where the Hindu left off, have progressed and developed the system to a fine point; whereas the nation, the people that are responsible for it, could not progress because of the mongrelization of their white race with the Negro.

The later epics of the Hindus are of an artificial character. The ancient epics are great works, which abound in passages of high poetic beauty. Plays written later than the eleventh century belong to the period of decline. One of them, the Anargha-Raghava, a drama full of obscurities and of commonplace sentiments, enjoys a higher reputation with the mongrels of the present age than the masterpieces of Kalidasa. Many of these later dramas are incomplete in their dialog.

The absurdities of modern Brahmanism are known. The great Brahmins of the Sarasvati would regard it as defiled by association with the Dasyu.

The study of the literature of the Hindus taught us that the vicious practices which prevail in India are late innovations; that is, inventions of the post-Hindu mongrels. Thus the rite of suttee (cremation of the widow) sprang up as a local habit, and on becoming more prevalent received the sanction of the Brahmanical mongrels. The English stamped out the atrocious custom, and the depraved instinct of the mongrels invented the "cold suttee." The Hindu scriptures do not authorize the cremation of the widow, but bid her return to her home and resume her duties. The cow has always been held in India in high esteem. She was not, however, the "saint cow" that she now is. Today the eating of a beefsteak in India is a cardinal sin, while in Hindu times beef was an ordinary article of food.

Again, stop and think! I reiterate: The degradation of a nation apparently starts with the degradation of its religion following mongrelization. In the early history of India there was a religion that in some of its phases was somewhat similar to some of the religions that today exist in the civilized world. In early history the Hindus did not worship animals. The eating of pork, the eating of beef, was not contrary to their religion. Later on, however, when cattle and other animals became sacred gods to which these mongrels prayed, it was considered sinful to eat them; and that, emphatically, shows again, Senators, that wherever there is a decline in the civilization of a race it starts in religion. That happened in India, just as it did in Egypt.

Following the pages I have just read are very beautiful extracts from some of the poets who wrote in those early days; and, by the way, a good deal of this literature came to light less than 100 years ago through the Sanskrit language, as I shall show by another author.

With the permission of the Senate, Mr. President, I ask that, beginning where I left off on page 56, to and including page 61 of this book, be printed in connection with my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

The position of women in India today is degraded. The Mahabharata tells us of the esteem in which women were held in Mahabharata times:

"A wife is half the man, his truest friend,
A loving wife is a perpetual spring
Of virtue, pleasure, wealth; a faithful wife
Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss;
A sweetly speaking wife is a companion
In solitude; a father in advice;
A mother in all seasons of distress;
A rest in passing through life's wilderness."

In order to clearly demonstrate the heights from which the Hindus have fallen it will be best to quote from their ancient writings; and it will be noticed that many of the Brahmanical sentiments are identical with Christian sentiments as we find them in the Gospels, an identity due to the fact that both are religions

by Aryans for Aryans. The ancient Hindus had a simple theistic creed, now innumerable gods crowd the pantheon, appealing to the instincts of the mongrels. The post-Hindu is ripe for Buddhism, for Christianity, the vegetable pantheon of the Egyptians, or any other creed that may be preached him. The mongrel, being destitute of character, can accept and adopt anything. I quote from the Bhagavad-Gita:

"Many are my births that are passed, many are thine too, Arjuna; I know them all, but thou knowest them not." (Cf. John viii:14.)

"For the establishment of righteousness am I from time to time born." (Cf. John xvii:37; John iii:3.)

"I am dearer to the wise than all possessions, and he is dear to me."

"The unbeliever, the ignorant, and he of a doubting mind perish utterly." (Cf. Mark xvi:16.)

"In him are all beings, by him this universe was spread out." (Cf. Acts xvii:28.)

"Deluded men despise me when I have taken human form." (Cf. John i:10.)

"In all the Vedas I am to be known." (Cf. John v:39.)

Read chapter XI, called "The Vision" (Krishna and Arjuna).

In Panini the Hindus have produced the greatest grammarian that ever lived, whose grammar is the great standard of Sanscrit. It is one of the most remarkable literary works that the world has ever seen, and no other country produced a grammatical system at all comparable to it, either for originality of plan or for analytical subtlety. Panini's grammar was criticized by the celebrated Katyayana. His great rival was Patanjali.

We know from the Rig-veda that the movements of the moon and its use as the time measurer were studied by the Hindus as early as 500 B. C. Aryabata knew the causes of solar and lunar eclipses, and noticed the motion of the solstitial and equinoctial points. He taught that the earth is a sphere and revolves on its own axis. To the Hindus is due the invention of algebra and its application to astronomy and geometry. They were acquainted with the properties of the magnet.

From Yajnavalkya's law book I quote:

"Some expect the whole result from destiny or from the inherent nature of things; some expect it from the lapse of time; and some from man's own effort. Other persons, of wiser judgment, expect it from a combination of all these."

"When a Brahman is a thief he must be marked with a hot iron and banished from the country."

"Whoever falsifies scales and edicts, measures or coin, or does business with them so falsified, should be made to pay the highest fine."

"Anyone who adulterates medicine, or oil, or salt, or perfume, or corn, or sugar, or other commodities, should be made to pay 16 panas."

"The highest fine should be imposed on those who, knowing the rise or fall in prices, combine to make a price of their own to the detriment of workmen and artisans."

Of the ancient Hindu epics, Monier Williams says: "Notwithstanding the wilderness of exaggeration and hyperbole through which the reader of the Indian epics has occasionally to wander, there are in the whole range of the world's literature few more charming poems than the Ramayana. The classical purity, clearness, and simplicity of its style, the exquisite touches of true poetic feeling with which it abounds, its graphic descriptions of heroic incidents and nature's grandest scenes, the deep acquaintance it displays with the conflicting workings and most refined emotions of the human heart all entitle it to rank among the most beautiful compositions that have appeared at any time or in any country. It is like a spacious and delightful garden, here and there allowed to run wild but teeming with fruits and flowers, watered by perennial streams, and even its most tangled thickets intersected with delightful pathways."

The following sentiments are found in the Ramayana and in the Mahabharata:

"Even to foes who visit us as guests
Due hospitality should be displayed;
The tree screens with its leaves the man who fells it.

"This is the sum of all true righteousness:
Treat others as thou wouldst thyself be treated.
Do nothing to thy neighbor which hereafter
Thou wouldst not have thy neighbor do to thee.
In causing pleasure or in giving pain,
In doing good or injury to others,
In granting or refusing a request,
A man obtains a proper rule of action
By looking on his neighbor as himself.

"No being perishes before his time,
Though by a hundred arrows pierced; but when
His destined moment comes, though barely pricked
By a sharp point of grass, he surely dies.

"He by whose hands the swans were painted white,
And parrots green, and peacocks many hued,
Will make provisions for thy maintenance.

"Strive not too anxiously for a subsistence;
Thy maker will provide thee sustenance.
No sooner is a human being born,
Than milk for his support streams from the breast."

—Hitopadesa, Monier Williams.

Of Hindu dramatists, Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti are superior to most of the western poets. Kalidasa's "Sakuntala" drew unqualified praise from Göthe, in the following words:

"Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruit of its decline,

And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?

Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?

I name thee, Sakuntala, and all at once is said."

—Monier Williams.

The Hindus were a great race. Their death was a loss to the world, a loss that it is impossible to overestimate. Men who call themselves Hindus still exist, Sanscrit derivatives are still spoken, the Hindu spirit, however, is dead; the noble blood has been lost in the Indian quagmire, in the yellow-black-white swamp.

It would seem that nothing in this world could bring about the deterioration and degradation of as great a race as the Hindu race; but bastardization, mongrelization, continued throughout many centuries, has done it.

The history of the Hindus, like that of the Jews, proves that race is more important than home, country, flag, and everything else put together.

Great was the Hindu; worthless is the mongrel.

Read Indian Wisdom, by Monier Williams; The Inequality of the Human Races, by A. Conte de Gobineau; Volkstum und Weltmacht in der Geschichte, by Albrecht Wirth.

NOTE.—The translations are from Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I have been reading from Schultz, who, as I stated, is an authority on the mongrel.

Mr. POPE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield before he leaves that point?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question; yes, sir.

Mr. POPE. I observe that the Senator has considered India and Egypt. Of course, nearly all the great nations of ancient times have fallen. I refer to Greek, Rome, Persia, and other nations. Does the Senator consider that the matter he has discussed was the most important thing leading to the fall of the ancient nations?

Mr. ELLENDER. The nations that I have mentioned; yes, certainly. There were other nations, such as Greece, whose fall was due to other things. When Hannibal conquered the world, it was brute force that accomplished it. In those localities there was another branch of the white race, the Mediterraneans, mentioned yesterday by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ], who occupied and developed, as it were, southern Europe. In other words, they were more influential in the development of southern Europe than the others I have named. The decay I have spoken about, with reference to Egypt and with reference to India, has been caused, in my opinion, solely by the mongrelization of the race. It may have been affected in later years by war, and it was later affected by war, because when the Persians and the Assyrians fought with the Egyptians, what happened? At the time of the attack, Egypt had become mongrelized.

There were a few Greeks there who had settled among the Egyptians. The members of the mongrelized nation fled, surrendered, and the Greeks were the only ones who offered resistance to the Persians when attacked. These mongrels had no courage, had no pride of country, but fled as would a tribe in the wilds of Africa.

Mr. POPE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. POPE. Does the Senator think the fall of Greece and the fall of Rome were due to any sort of race amalgamation?

Mr. ELLENDER. No, sir; I do not believe so. It is my recollection that the fall of those countries was due to being overpowered by the people of other countries, and not to mongrelization. Greece is still there, though, of course, Greece is not progressing as a whole to the same extent as it did in days of old. She has remained to a certain extent stagnant. I was not able to give the reasons for that to the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SCHWARTZ], because, as I remember, he made the point that the Mediterraneans may have occupied Egypt, the point being that the Mediterraneans, a branch of the white race occupied the greater portion of southern Europe. Whether or not the Mediterranean race, that part of the white race which settled in

southern Europe, was at one time a mongrel race, I do not know, but I am going to look it up.

I doubt, however, that it was a mongrel race. Some ethnologists believe that although a race may at one time be mongrelized to a minor extent, its mongrelization can be wiped out in the course of time by a preponderance of pure blood. In other words, ethnologists believe, and I think historians agree, that if there is but little mongrelization in a country that in the course of years the mongrel blood can be wiped out through absorption by the pure blood of the others. As to whether or not the Mediterraneans who occupied southern Europe were ever at any time considered a mongrelized race I do not know; but basing my statement on the facts brought out in histories I have read, I know that the Aryan race, the Nordics, are pure; and it was the Nordic race, known as the Aryans, pure whites, that occupied northern Europe and came to Egypt and also to India.

Mr. President, I desire to quote further now from an author from whom I quoted yesterday, who apparently has made a very careful study of the subject. He has studied it from every standpoint, and in the extracts I shall read he has incorporated certain passages from other sources of Indian history. It is very interesting to note that the same thing that has occurred in Egypt has occurred in India to the same extent and along the same lines, and I hope that the few Senators who are present and all the Members of the House of Representatives and all the pages who are present will listen to me, and, of course, I hope the ladies and gentlemen in the galleries will pay attention to what I say. I know they are all very much interested in Indian history, and I trust they will listen very carefully.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHWARTZ in the chair). Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. LEWIS. I wish to announce to the able Senator from Louisiana that the fact that there are few Senators on the floor, as he has stated, does not indicate a lack of appreciation on their part of the Senator's remarks, but their absence is due to the fact that they are engaged in committees which call them to other official duties.

Mr. ELLENDER. I did not mean to cast any reflection on the Senators who are not present. I know they are all busy and very much occupied, and I have nothing to say in that regard. Of course, personally I do not blame them much for not being here, but I should certainly enjoy their company if they could be present and listen to historical and undeniable facts with reference to this question.

I shall now read from *White America*, by Cox, the same authority from whom I read yesterday. I read at page 130:

The briefest survey of the Aryan conquest of India will suffice to show that the white Aryan came into contact with a decayed civilization which was in its last stages as a result of the previous Caucasian conquerors of India having interbred with the aborigines. The breed which produced the earlier culture had become submerged in the black mass about them, and the new-coming Aryan found that the "melting pot" had prepared India for an easy conquest. The Aryans, by reason of race and culture, came as aristocrats. Their numbers were but small when compared with the colored multitudes about them. They came slowly from their homeland in the northwest where, in spite of later mixtures with blacks and yellows, we yet find Afghans and Persians who are fundamentally Aryan.

While all the darker strains of India may not be traced to the influence of the blood of the Asiatic branch of the Negro race, which at an early time was widely distributed on the Asiatic mainland and which now has many representatives in the islands south of the continent, yet the blood of the Negro is evident in certain of the races of India.

Speaking of the race types of India, Madison Grant says: "The Aryanized Afghan and Hindu of northern India speak languages derived from old Sanskrit and are closely related to the Mediterranean race. Aside from common dolichocephaly, these peoples are entirely distinct from the Dravidians of south India, whose speech is agglutinative and who show strong evidence of profound mixture with the ancient Negrito substratum of southern Asia. Everywhere throughout the Asiatic portion of its range the Mediterranean race overlies an even more ancient negroid race. These negroids still have representatives among the pre-Dravidians of India, the Ved-dahs of Ceylon, the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, and the natives of the Andaman Islands."

The all but complete disappearance of the blood of the white civilizers of India is well expressed by the same authority, who says: "The Hindu today speaks a very ancient form of the Aryan language, but there remains not one recognizable trace of the white conquerors who poured in through the passage of the northwest. The boast of the modern Indian that he is of the same race as his English ruler is entirely without basis in fact, and the little swarthy native lives among the monuments of a departed grandeur, professing the religion and speaking the tongue of his long-forgotten Nordic conquerors without the slightest claim to blood kinship. The dim and uncertain traces of Nordic blood in northern India only serve to emphasize the utter swamping of the white man in the burning South."

Not only were the eastern Aryans, before amalgamation with other races, true representatives of the race type that has dominated civilization, but also it is from this branch of the race that we have received important arts and sciences, and to their ancient literature we are indebted for much that we know concerning the religious beliefs of our kindred, their social organization, their laws, and race ideals.

The ancient literature of the Aryan is embodied in the Rig-Veda and the Epics. The Vedic times cover approximately the six hundred years intervening between 2000 B. C. and 1400 B. C. These writings afford us a fair conception of Aryan society and reveal a vigorous, white, conquering people, well organized, respecting their women, already in possession of ancient laws, glorying in agriculture, passionately religious, imposing their faith and culture upon the surrounding colored populations to whom they refer in terms of contempt. Themselves they designate as a people of "fair complexion" and term those whom they have subdued "colored," and ridicule them, calling them monkeys, just as the Aryans 4,000 years later have gone into Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas, have boasted of their white complexion and vigorous mentality, and have accredited the dark races of these lands with close relatedness to chimpanzee and gorilla.

Let us look backward over a span of 40 centuries and get a glimpse of these white invaders of northern India. Their records tell us that they were of fair complexion, with straight, well-bridged noses. The latter feature, as well as the complexion, marked them as a separate people and so impressed social ideals that, even to the present day, a man's social position varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose; "that is to say, the nasal index, as it is called, is a safe guide to the amount of Aryan, as distinguished from the aboriginal blood in his veins." The tall, fair, high-nosed invader came as a conqueror, looked upon the mongrel and black multitudes as inferiors, and treated them as such. Of this treatment, however, we shall learn later.

Emerging from the hill country of Afghanistan and the slopes of the Hindu Kush, the Aryans (Nordics) took possession of that extremely desirable portion of India known as the Punjab. A glance at the map will show that the Punjab is a well-watered northern province and that it comprises but a small proportion of the present Indian empire. From the Punjab these blond Caucasians extended their sway, imposing themselves by force and the influence of superior culture upon the mix-breeds who infested the country in countless numbers then as they do now. We may better understand the ease with which this was done by the first Aryan invaders of India by reflecting upon the ease with which foreign control has been imposed by the last Aryan invaders of India, the English. The task of the first Aryan invaders should have been even less difficult; for their invasion was by land from an adjoining territory while the English have dominated India from afar, their line of communications consisting of a long and tortuous sea route. Both the first and last invasions were wrought by the hard-drinking, hard-fighting military caste of Aryans; and both invasions maintained by prestige of race and culture rather than by constant appeal to arms.

When occupying the Punjab the Aryans did not expel the mix-breed white-yellow-black populations whom they conquered. (As yet the Aryans were not in contact with the blacks in the south of India.) Throughout the history of their conquests the Aryans have not expelled a subjugated people whom they could profitably enslave. Modern Aryans in North America did expel the red man, but they imported the black.

I am sure the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS], who is doing me the honor to follow what I am reading, will agree with me that when the black man first came to this country he came here as a worker. The American Indian was already here. He was of lazy temperament and depended for his food upon that which grew wild throughout the land and that which he could gather with the least effort. He did not try to elevate himself prior to the time the white man came to America, nor after, except through the aid of the whites. As a matter of fact the American Indian depended entirely on what he found growing wild in this country for his food. He might have planted a little corn, but there was no real sign of progress on the part of the American Indian, and he was never employed by the first white settlers here because he was not of the type that would work. Hence as agriculture developed, it became necessary to bring slaves into this country. That is why the slave

traffic developed. From my knowledge of early American history I am sure that if it were not for the importation of the Negroes the South would not have developed agriculturally as fast as it did. We had no labor-saving inventions at that time such as we have today. In those days we had to depend on muscle and brawn in order to cultivate and make the crop. It required a great amount of labor. I am sure the Senator from North Carolina will agree with me in that statement.

Before I leave the American Indian I do not mean that he was devoid of any civilization. Some recent discoveries were made showing that there was quite a progressive Indian civilization before Columbus landed. I may be wrong in that statement, but that is my recollection.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I might add, in view of the fact that the Senator is speaking of the early settlers of this country, the original ones, the Indians, that he will find a book entitled "The Northwest Passage" an extremely interesting volume, which describes the adventures of Major Rogers in his search for the Northwest Passage. In that book the Indians of that particular portion of the United States are described very vividly and most interestingly.

Of course, in North Carolina, as the Senator knows, and in the country from which our colleague the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMATHERS] comes, we have the Cherokee Indians, and, as a matter of fact, the Cherokee Indians are considered among the very best tribes of Indians of America.

In the Western States are to be found the Pawnee Indians, and the Sioux Indians, and different Indian tribes. I was wondering if the Senator from Louisiana had ever visited western North Carolina, where the Cherokee Indians are to be found?

Mr. ELLENDER. I will say to the Senator that I have visited it quite frequently.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I hope the Senator will find it possible to return to North Carolina, because since his last visit there we have established the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, which is only a stone's throw from the city in which I live, which city is Asheville, N. C., the little gem city of the mountains.

Mr. ELLENDER. I have visited your Gem City, Senator, and as an American I am very proud of it.

I shall continue reading from this author:

We may better understand the ease with which this was done by the first Aryan invaders of India, by reflecting upon the ease with which foreign control has been imposed by the last Aryan invaders of India, the English.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I see the Senator is reading some very interesting chapters with regard to the development of India. Does the Senator know how the English happened to be able to conquer that vast territory of India, from the Malay States north to the great frontier of Afghanistan? Does the Senator recall—this is in the form of a question—that when first the English went into the Orient they made a trade with one of the tribes to aid them in defeating the people of another province, and after that defeat was brought about they made a trade with those whom they had just defeated to fight with other tribes against whom they had previously fought, and then when those tribes were defeated they would make similar trades with them, and so on through the entire conquest of India? I am told that that is the manner in which the British were able to conquer all of India.

Mr. ELLENDER. In answer to the question of the Senator from North Carolina, I may state that I do now remember reading that part of the history of India, but that particular phase of it had escaped my recollection, and I am glad that the Senator has made the contribution he has at this time.

I continue to read:

The task of the first Aryan invaders should have been even less difficult; for their invasion was by land from an adjoining territory, while the English have dominated India from afar, their line of communications consisting of a long and tortuous sea route.

Both the first and last invasions were wrought by the hard-drinking, hard-fighting military caste of Aryans, and both invasions maintained by prestige of race and culture rather than by constant appeal to arms.

When occupying the Punjab, the Aryans did not expel the mixed white-yellow-black populations whom they conquered (as yet the Aryans were not in contact with the blacks in the south of India). Throughout the history of their conquests, the Aryans have not expelled a subjugated people whom they could profitably enslave. Modern Aryans in North America did expel the red man, but they imported the black. The former would not work, the latter could be made to work.

The very thing that I discussed a minute ago prevailed in India as it did in this country; the importation of the black was necessary because the black could be made to work, and the natives were too lazy to work.

If we, from the vantage point of centuries, pass critical judgment upon the color policies of the Indian Aryans, we may ask ourselves in what did they fail and to what mistake is their final undoing attributable? We know that their failure must be attributed to their reliance upon caste, rather than expulsion, in dealing with their colored subjects. They sought to keep themselves white by imposing laws against race admixture and supporting such laws by the ideal of race purity and by religion. But long continued race contact, throughout human history, is written large in one word—amalgamation.

"Amalgamation!" That is what we in America must prevent. I hope that we can do what Jefferson said was impossible to do—keep the races separate. As I pointed out yesterday, Jefferson—back in 1806, I think, in the early days of our American history—said he could foresee that in the future it would be impossible for the white race and the colored race to live separately in the same country; that one would have to prevail over the other, and he was afraid that the Negro might prevail, and then our civilization would become degraded.

Another thing feared by Jefferson and feared by others of our American statesmen at that time, and even by our modern statesmen, was the amalgamation of the two races; and amalgamation was the very thing that the early Indian people feared way back 3,000 years before Christ. Those people of that period viewed the question in the same light as I am viewing it now. I am simply giving facts. As I said a while ago, I do not know whether this discussion is interesting to Senators or not. I hope that it is. I hope they will pay attention to what I am saying; because I am just as sincere and as confident as I am of anything that what I have just said will come to pass in this country if we do not take steps to prevent it. I am not going to live to see it, but just as sure as I am being heard by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS], who sits within 3 feet from here, if there is an amalgamation of the races, decay of our civilization will surely follow; and amalgamation cannot be stopped, in my mind, if we permit the colored people to keep on encroaching on the whites socially. Political power will bring it about. The Negro may some day become so strong politically that he will be able to command respect for his vote, and he may come to the Senate. Perhaps not next year; perhaps not in the next 50 years; but some day he may come here and probably sit in the seat in which the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BERRY] is now sitting and which seat was once occupied by the immortal Webster, or in the seat in which the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS] is now sitting, or maybe he will sit in the seat once occupied by the illustrious President of the Southern Confederacy, Jeff Davis.

It is not necessary to stretch our imagination to surmise what is going to happen should that ever occur. Then watch the social legislation that will be passed! Just as sure as the sun is overhead, the amalgamation of the white race in this country with the colored race is going to bring to America what it brought to Egypt, what it brought to India, what it brought to Haiti, and what in a small measure it is bringing to Harlem in New York, as I am going to show by the doings of Father Divine, a Negro.

Mr. REYNOLDS. The Senator, of course, appreciates the fact that there are exceptions?

Mr. ELLENDER. Oh, I appreciate that, Senator.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I wondered if the Senator was aware of the fact that a great portion of the slaves that were taken to South America were Chinese slaves, as a matter of fact. Whereas we in America experienced the importation of thousands upon thousands of slaves from various and sundry parts of Africa, the people of South America experienced an importation of thousands upon thousands of Chinese slaves.

Mr. ELLENDER. Of the Mongolian race?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Of the Mongolian race. In connection with exceptions, of course, we all have from time to time on the floor of the Senate mentioned exceptions in the colored race. It might be interesting for the Senator to recall the life history of the Emperor of Haiti, whose name, I think, was Christophe.

Mr. ELLENDER. Christophe; I have his history here and I propose to discuss it later on today.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Has the Senator visited Haiti? If not, I hope the Senator at some time will take advantage of the opportunity to visit Christophe citadel, which is right on top of the mountain overlooking the point of Haiti.

Mr. ELLENDER. I have not visited Haiti. But Christophe, the Emperor of Haiti, whom the Senator has just mentioned, was the son of a Negro slave, and there was no Chinese blood in his veins.

Mr. REYNOLDS. None whatever. He built there at the foot of the mountain San Souci Palace, in which he lived, did he not?

Mr. ELLENDER. I am coming to that; I have it all here.

Mr. REYNOLDS. And when he completed that citadel and fortress it is said that he caused the murder of the engineers who had charge of its construction, so that they would not be able to reveal anything about it or its history, did he not?

Mr. ELLENDER. I have that complete history.

Mr. REYNOLDS. It is very interesting, the Senator will agree, I am sure?

Mr. ELLENDER. I may say, while we are on the subject, that I am going to invite not only the Senators and Members of the House but I am going to invite the pages of the Senate, the clerks, the official reporters, the members of the press, the colored people who may be in the galleries, the white people—everybody—to read at the first opportunity—they can read it at the Congressional Library, if they do not have it—Black Majesty—a book on Haiti, showing what Negro domination has done to Haiti.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMATHERS in the chair). The Senator will state it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Vice President made a statement this morning regarding what constitutes a legitimate interruption under the rules and what kind of an interruption would terminate a Senator's right to the floor. I am not seeking to take the Senator from Louisiana from the floor, but I am curious to know whether the inquiries submitted by the Senator from North Carolina do not fall under the inhibition announced this morning by the Vice President.

Mr. ELLENDER. I desire to state that, as I understand, Mr. President, the Senator from North Carolina asked a question as to whether I was familiar with Christophe. That was the question asked me, and I proceeded to answer it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should like to hear what the Chair has to say on the subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator having the floor is entitled to yield only for a question. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS] having framed his statement in the form of a question, it falls within the rule.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I did not hear the Senator's question when I entered; he was on the tail end of a dissertation.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Louisiana yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes, I will yield for a question, but be sure to make it a question. [Laughter.]

Mr. REYNOLDS. Will the Senator also discuss the life history of Trujillo, president of the Dominican Republic? The Dominican Republican, as the Senator will recall—and I make this statement in the form of a question—occupies a part and portion of the same island upon which we find the Republic of Haiti?

Mr. ELLENDER. I will yield to the Senator for a question, and am happy to yield to him, but I am very anxious that anything the Senator desires to ask me be put in the form of a question, because I should not like to lose the opportunity of continuing this discussion. I do not know whether or not it is interesting to the Senator from North Carolina or to other Members of the Senate, but to me it is deeply interesting. It may not be interesting to some others, I presume, for the reason that it is a little bit dry unless one appreciates the full meaning of it as it is developed, point by point. Of course, Senators who come in and then leave the Chamber from time to time—and I do not blame them for that—and listen for just a little while, may not find it interesting.

I made the point a little while ago that amalgamation of the white race with the colored race was, in my opinion, the cause of the downfall and decadence of the civilization of India, and also was the cause of the decadence of Egypt, and before the Senator from Michigan came in I pointed out that the question of amalgamation bothered Thomas Jefferson, bothered Lincoln, and bothered Grant. They were afraid of it.

What I am trying to do at present is to bring the facts home, so that the American people today—not tomorrow but now—may see, in white and black, what happened to other civilizations of the past, and understand that other civilizations of the past thought along the same line as our own Jefferson thought 125 years ago, and our own Lincoln and our own Stephen A. Douglas thought more than 75 years ago. Those American statesmen feared amalgamation and its inevitable consequences, as did the statesmen of India and Egypt in the days before Christ. As I pointed out yesterday, the Egyptians were so afraid of amalgamation with the Negroes that they made it a capital offense for them to come into their country. India also desired to go that far in order to preserve her civilization.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question. If it is not a question, stop him, Mr. Presiding Officer. [Laughter.]

Mr. REYNOLDS. Speaking of Egypt, did the Senator know that when the Egyptians let down their immigration bars, from that moment the strength of the Egyptians began to fail, and as a nation, great at that time, it began to decline?

Mr. ELLENDER. That is correct. The trouble is the immigration bars were not in effect as early as they should have been.

Mr. President, I will recur to the question that was asked me a while ago by the able Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS]. The Senator asked me a question with reference to the immigration of Chinese into South America and the effect of such immigration.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield in that connection?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I will ask a question. Did the able Senator from Louisiana know that one of the greatest slave markets the world has ever known was at Truxillo, Peru—a Chinese slave market?

Mr. ELLENDER. I have read about it, and that brings up the point I wish to mention in answer to the Senator's question that he propounded to me a while ago. The difference between the slaves of the Mongolian race who were brought to South America and those Negro slaves that were distributed throughout the world is that the Mongolian slaves

showed a higher type of mentality than did the Negroes. The Mongolian race, as I am sure the Senator will agree, was further advanced in civilization than was the Negro race. Of course, deterioration set in when the Mongolians mixed with the whites, but it required a longer span of time before the mongrelization took effect so as to deteriorate the civilization. We must not forget that that is one of the essential differences between the mongrelization by the purely African type of Negro as compared to the mongrelization growing out of the enslavement of members of the Mongolian race. Authorities, however, are agreed to the effect that the mongrelization of races, even with the Chinese or the Japanese with the whites, will in course of time mean deterioration and decay of civilization wherever and whenever it occurs. Have I answered the question of the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes; and I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. ELLENDER. I continue reading:

The story of civilization is, in the main, the story of the Aryan race and its culture. The history of the Aryan peoples shows that where they have seemingly been most cruel in their dealings with other races, their civilization has been most permanent. Of the Nordic tribes who, between the fourth and the sixth centuries of our era, overran south Europe, those that became isolated and finally lost by amalgamation with their subjects rapidly declined as cultural factors; while those who replaced conquered peoples have led in civilization. Franks, Lombards, and Saxons retained race and cultural capacity. The Aryan conquerors of South America, to a great extent, have amalgamated with colored subjects. The settlers of North America segregated the colored race they found in possession of the land and have established a form of caste to prevent blood admixture with the colored race which they inducted into their midst. Caste will not perpetuate the civilization of the whites who dwell with colored races, but it will prolong it.

The Aryans of India relied upon caste. They knew that they owed their capacity in the civilized arts to their breed, and to their breed they owed their prestige among colored races. How to preserve breed and, at the same time, utilize inferior peoples to do their labor was the problem confronting the Aryans. The answer to the problem was "caste, enforced by law and religion."

The priests were the scientists and philosophers, and they devised a system of social control designed to meet the requirements of the native problem. This extraordinary scheme has been classed among the greatest expressions of human ingenuity. Caste, as originally instituted, divided the population into four divisions—warriors, priests, agriculturists, and merchants and laborers. The first was composed of those of the purest Aryan descent, while the last was made up mainly of the subjugated mixed breeds with whom the Aryan was in immediate contact. The heart of caste was not vocation, as at present, but endogamy (marriage within the caste). There were large groups of the subjugated population whom the Aryans did not honor with caste. These were referred to collectively as outcasts, recognized as barely human.

Mr. President, I ask that the remainder of page 137, which is very interesting, and all of page 138, up to and including the words "was authorized to kill" on page 139, may be inserted in the RECORD in connection with my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

We see, then, a white people dwelling among a colored, who greatly outnumber them, and attempting to remain white by the institution of laws forbidding interracial marriage. "Our first glimpse of India discloses two races struggling for the soil, the Dravidians, a dark-skinned race of aborigines, and the Aryans, a fair-skinned people, descending from the northwest passages." Keane, in his *Ethnology*, says: "As a rule, the Anglo-Saxon and British Aryan, who are by far the most numerous and widespread out of Europe, do not amalgamate with the aborigines." This author is comparing the Saxon Aryan with Spanish, French, and Portuguese "Aryans," who readily mix with colored races. But Saxon resistance to intermixture is relative only. The Saxon mixes with other races in every land where there is race contact. This mixing is slow, but the end will be the same. The same authority, on another page, himself affirms that the end of all race contact is amalgamation of races.

The Anglo-Saxon of the United States, like his early kinsmen in India, will retain comparative purity for many generations. Like his ancient relative, he invokes law to prevent interbreeding of white and black. But the present-day white man is not as well fortified against miscegenation as the ancient white man of India, who supplemented legal prohibition of marriage with nonwhites by his religious teaching and by caste, which was perfect in ideal and enforceable by law. In the United States legal prohibition of interracial marriage has not been written in the statutes of all the States; and, too, we have a religion which, instead of opposing inter-

breeding with the inferior races within our midst, is interpreted by large numbers of whites in such manner as to minimize or abolish the color line.

But the peril to the color line in India, as in the United States, was not legal interbreeding of races. There as here it was the illegitimate mixbreed who threatened the purity of the white race.

There has ever been a deplorable freedom between the white and nonwhite races, which has resulted in an increasing number of mixbreeds. In India caste prevented interracial marriage but was incapable of preventing illegitimate unions. The Aryans, intent upon retaining race purity, yet unable to restrain men of their race from unions with colored women, and in most instances unable to discover the guilty white, turned with a terrible wrath upon the helpless mixbreed. The half-castes were not permitted to reside within the limits of the city; were reviled by all, both black and white; and, finally, the Aryan laws provided that under certain conditions the soldiers might slay them without mercy. It is evident that such extreme measures would not be permanently enforced, most of all by men of the Aryan race, whose history is generally marked by tolerance to races and creeds. In spite of legal restrictions the mixbreeds increased. Caste prolonged race purity but did not preserve it. The modern Aryan in India is just such a mixture as the ancient Aryan was authorized to kill.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I continue reading from that point:

Of the "220,000,000" so-called Aryans of India, it is not likely that one-tenth of 1 percent are whites of the Aryan race. "Even the haughty Rajputs, formerly of the Kshatriya (military) caste, have long lost their racial purity and are now largely intermingled with Bhils and other primitive non-Aryans" (Keane). "Men who call themselves Hindus still exist, Sanskrit derivatives are still spoken, but the Hindu spirit, however, is dead; the noble blood has been lost in the Indian quagmire, in the yellow-black-white swamp."

Races dwelling in common territory will eventually amalgamate; and by observing the present, we are conscious that a slow amalgamation of white with nonwhite is occurring even in Saxon circles, and we know that amalgamation has already proved the end of hope in many Latin possessions. With the present in mind, we are able to understand the problems confronting ancient India and realize the Aryan's hopeless task in seeking to institute laws and customs that would perpetuate his breed and the civilization which proceeded from his breed, and which perished with it. The history of race contact will establish that the Aryans undertook an impossible task. They brought religion, law, and caste to their aid, the most carefully devised agencies the world has known. But the human intellect has never proved equal to the task of regulating sex relations.

In Indian history, as in Egyptian, we find that the further back we go the greater the culture. This is explainable on the basis of breed. These civilizations were founded by Caucasian peoples, who eventually were replaced by, or became mixed with, their colored subjects. That their cultures had a Caucasian origin is a matter beyond doubt.

Just as I have explained to the Senate, not only from these extracts but also from two other authorities from which I read today and yesterday.

To make clear the causation of their decay, we may bring to bear numerous analogous instances from both ancient and modern history. We have the Greek and Roman cultures and those of Central and Northern Latin America, which were implanted by a breed and declined with the breed which implanted them. There was gradual submergence of the creative breeds into the noncreative, which, in all instances, were more numerous.

Let us look to the high state from which the Aryans of India fell, and we may appreciate the loss to civilization. It was only about a century ago that the western world began to realize the riches of the Sanskrit literature and the ancient glory of the Hindus. When the ancient treasures of the whites of India were translated, Europeans were struck with amazement to learn that their own language was that of the civilizers of India and that the civilizers of India were a white people with a culture so deep and varied and of such ancient origin as to suggest that India was the home of the Aryan peoples and that western arts and creeds had been derived from Asia. We know now that the Aryans of India, like those of modern America and Australia, were conquering invaders, and that, like those of America and Australia, they carried their culture with them and imposed it upon colored races.

In other words, Senators, the same thing to which I referred yesterday and the day before happened to the enslaved inhabitants of those countries, to the same extent that it happened to the enslaved Negroes of North America. I made the point, and history shows, that slavery was a terrible drawback to this country, that it was wrong, painfully wrong, for us ever to have had it; but so far as the Negro race is concerned, I will say to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], they benefited by it, because they were brought from dark Africa to the light of our American civilization.

Not only did that occur in America, as I have just stated, but it likewise occurred in India and in Egypt. The only civilization ever known to those people who came from dark Africa was the civilization they got when they came within the borders of Egypt, India, America, and other civilized places to which they were taken as slaves. The author from whom I am reading, as I say, is another authority who stands back of that statement, and shows, insofar as India is concerned, that the enslavement of the Negro from Ethiopia who came to India, although he came in bondage, resulted in his own betterment, while it resulted in the degradation of the country to which he came.

Listen to this:

Hindu history reveals that it was the early invaders, not their mongrel offspring, who displayed affinity in ideals, race, and culture to the Europeans of the days preceding steam and electricity. However alien the Saxon student may feel when poring over Egyptian and Assyrian records, he has consciousness of kinship with these tall, high-nosed, aggressive warriors, priests, and people, who emerge from obscurity upon the banks of the Indus, spread gradually to domination of the great Indian peninsula, carry their culture at a later date to Ceylon and Cambodia, and, after centuries of effort to retain race purity, gradually subside into the mongrel mass.

The Aryans opposed the colored peoples whom they conquered, not only on the ground of race, but on the basis of religion as well.

Why? Because the religion that prevailed in the country whence these slaves came was a religion based on idolatry, the worship of onions, the belief that goats are gods, that elephants are gods, that cattle are gods, as I pointed out in other parts of this discussion. It was when these religions were transplanted, when they supplanted the religion which formerly prevailed in the civilized country, that the degradation of the civilization of that country began. That is when the decline first became noticeable; and that is why I quoted yesterday from the Bible, from the twentieth chapter of Isaiah, in which the prophet Isaiah predicted the downfall of Egypt because no doubt of the mongrelization of the white Egyptian people with the colored race.

The colored "were abhorrent to the Aryans on account of their blacker blood and their unorthodox religion." Knowledge of the religion to which the Aryans objected will give justification for their opposition. Along with barbaric superstitions—

By the way, I want to digress here for a minute. This author says, "Along with their barbaric superstitions." The actions of these colored people, with their barbaric superstitions, are what gave rise, as I said, to the conditions that have been described. The time when it became noticeable in Egypt and among the Hindus that their civilization was going to pieces was when these mongrelized people began to change the dominant religion of the country; and I am sure I can bring this statement home to Senators, not only from Egyptian history, not only from Indian history, not only from Haitian history, but from Harlem history, from the actions of Father Divine.

Will you believe me when I tell you that the volumes I now exhibit to the Senate, the volumes which I hold in my hand, four in number, and also a great number of magazine articles, were all written about this Negro, "Father Divine," who, it appears, is the kingpin of Harlem so far as religion is concerned? I want to read parts of them to the Senate. I do not know whether I shall have time to do so today or tomorrow; but I am going to read to the Senate from these books and articles, and I am going to show the people of America and the Senators who are present and everybody within the hearing of my voice how Father Divine, and all his followers in Harlem and throughout the country, thought he was divine, thought he was God, and yet after all he was only the son of a Negro slave from Georgia, as I am going to show.

I want to demonstrate to the people of America that what I am reading here, the warning I am trying to give, is timely and applicable today right here in America. God pity the South, God pity the State of Mississippi and its fine people, where there are as many blacks as whites, if this thing ever spreads to that part of the country! I should hate to see Father Divine take possession of the Negro pop-

ulation of Mississippi and make them rise to religious frenzy and fanaticism as he has been able to do in Harlem. When I say Harlem, I mean Harlem in New York, here in dear America.

I desire to read to the Senate some passages from these volumes to show how some of the politicians of New York, including the present mayor of New York, solicited the support and the vote of Father Divine because he could deliver a great many votes of the members of his cult. Whether or not he succeeded, I do not know. I say, that whenever such solicitations were made promises may not have been exacted by Father Divine, but the politicians back of him, who were his "angels," doubtless said, "Divine, it's all right for you to support Mr. So-and-So and Mr. So-and-So for de mayor or for de legislature, but be sure that when So-and-So is elected to de legislature in New York, wese goin' to get social equality with the white folks."

Social equality with the whites! That, Senators, is what I fear may come to pass in this country. I repeat what I have heretofore said. Let me read it again from my notes, so that it will sink in:

Political equality leads to social equality, and social equality will eventually spell the decay and downfall of the American civilization.

Think of that proposition! Discuss it with your friends. Study the books I have referred to and I am certain you will become convinced.

I continue reading:

Along with barbaric superstitions, the Dravidians practiced a cult of gross obscenity and followed these religious observances with debauchery of unrestricted passion. Also, the Dravidians recognized only the mother as head of the family, their practices being such as to render this custom the only satisfactory way to determine kinship. Now, the Dravidians were the mongrel remains of the previous civilization that had perished in India, and represented a far more capable type of humanity than the blacks about them and to the south. The Aryans found the best of India steeped in inexpressible obscenity, and of this, as well as of the colored blood, they felt abhorrence.

To the religion of India the Aryans opposed their own, and with much success so long as they remained white. The religion of the Indian Aryan had much in common with that of our European ancestors prior to the introduction of Christianity; and if we look to their religion we find that the Aryans of 30 centuries ago held high ideals, many of which it would be difficult to improve. They believed fervently in immortality, though the immortality was to be obtained by works rather than by faith. They believed firmly in the incarnation of God walking as man upon earth, that such incarnation had been accomplished, and they looked forward to the return to earth of this same Redeemer incarnate.

The ancient laws of India (Institutes of Manu) represent an attempt to codify Hindu law just as the Code of Justinian represents the codification of the laws of certain Western Aryans. There is much in agreement between them, and the latter were probably well known to the Roman jurists. In these laws and throughout the Vedic hymns there is not a trace "of the many deplorable beliefs, traditions and customs, which in later years have debased the religious and social life of India; nor is there idolatry in the ancient religion such as characterizes the present, nor caste, nor enforced widowhood; neither is there any trace of, nor the faintest shred of authority for, either suttee or child marriage."

The early Hindu prayed to the god "who comprehended all things," "Take me to the immortal and imperishable abode where light dwells eternal." "They still felt the impulse of wonder" and looked into immeasurable space "full of blazing and self-luminous worlds." (Steele.) The Institutes of Manu teach that of "all duties, the principal is to acquire a true knowledge of one supreme god; that it is the most exalted of all sciences because it insures immortality."

Thus at the very opening of recorded Aryan history, say 4,000 years ago, we find the men of our race in possession of the most exalted religious concepts—the theory of one all-powerful god; of god become incarnate for man's sake; of a miraculous birth of this incarnate god; and an expectation of the reincarnation of this same god. They prayed, fasted, and watched for his reappearing.

At the time of Jesus, Palestine had been under Aryan or semi-Aryan influence for more than a thousand years. Nor was this influence entirely from without; for a part of the inhabitants were Aryan, or partly Aryan, in blood. Although the centuries have brought great ethnic changes in this part of western Asia, there long remained ethnic traces of the early Nordic blood, which was supplemented in copious measure by Greek conquests.

I now omit some of the text, because it is merely more history. I begin reading again with the first paragraph on page 146:

Compare the exalted religious ideals of the early Aryans—

By the way, those are the religious ideas to which I have just referred, and I am sure Senators will be in entire agreement with me when I say that some of those very religious ideas now form, in many respects, the basis of the religious principles of the present generation of the white race.

I repeat:

Compare the exalted religious ideals of the early Aryans who conquered India with the repulsive cults of their mix-breed descendants, and what devout Christian will not feel a shudder of the soul when he contemplates the immeasurable and seemingly unbridgeable chasm between the "fair" people who entered India 40 centuries ago and their innumerable mongrel posterity?

Let us quote well-recognized authority which shall serve to heighten our estimate of the culture of the conquerors of the Punjab. "The Aryan tribes of the Veda are acquainted with most of the metals. They have blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths among them, besides carpenters, barbers, and other artisans. They fight from chariots and freely use the horse, though not yet the elephant, in war. They have settled down as husbandmen, till the fields with the plow, and live in villages and towns. They have learned to build 'ships' (river boats) * * * unlike the modern Hindu, the Aryans of the Veda ate beef * * * thus the stout Aryans spread eastward through northern India, pushed on from behind by late arrivals of their own stock, and driving before them, or reducing to bondage, the earlier black-skinned races."

The black-skinned peoples with whom the whites came into contact were so numerous that miscegenation between the Aryan warriors and colored women soon produced a mix-breed element which threatened the purity of the white race. Knowing that race characteristics have not changed during the past 40 centuries, and possibly not materially in a hundred centuries, can we not see that in early India there would be among the whites an element who wished to expel the colored from the districts successively taken, in order to create an environment whereby the Aryan race and culture would be assured permanency? And is it not likely that this element was overruled by others who opposed harsh measures in dealing with the colored, and by another and more powerful element of property owners who profited by labor of the colored and were ready always to resort to force to keep them in serfdom?

I will omit the reading of the next two paragraphs and begin reading with the first full paragraph on page 149, because this paragraph deals principally with the religious aspects, and it is demonstrated, as I have shown in the case of Egypt, and as is being shown here with reference to the Indian history, that degradation of the race became apparent when there was a change in religion.

Religion, that mighty agency in mongrelizing the Caucasian, with its caste-eliminating, race-equalizing tenets, has been seized upon in all lands by the supernormal whites in their efforts to abolish the color line. The "melting pot" in India was not full until there arose a religion attempting to offset the Hindu religion which gave its sanction to caste to preserve the Caucasian. Hinduism taught the colored that caste was founded upon the will of God. Its purpose was to keep the races apart. When the illegitimate mix-breeds in India 25 centuries ago had increased until they were more numerous than the whites, there arose Gautama Buddha, an aristocratic mix-breed with yellow blood predominating, who stripped Hinduism (Brahmanism) of caste and sought a religious reformation that would level the races of India.

We find here an account of the rise of Buddhism, a change of religion from that which existed in India prior to the mongrelization of that great country. The mongrelization started, as I have pointed out, along the same lines, and following the same course that was followed in Egypt and that is being followed in the United States today in Harlem. The only difference between the two is that instead of requiring 12 or 15 centuries to get a mulatto at the head of the government, as was the case with Teharka in Egypt, there might arise and be swept into power in this country, where we have a republican form of government, a great Father Divine, as we have seen in New York, and it may not take more than one century or two centuries for this to come about.

I would not like to see a man with the apparent sacredness, the "divinity" of the great Father Divine, go to Georgia or to Louisiana and there put on a show like that put on in Harlem in New York City when LaGuardia was elected to the mayoralty of the great city of New York.

In just a few minutes I should like to read a passage from the magazine Forum with reference to Mayor LaGuardia to show to what a fever heat this Negro, this so-called divine man, works upon his followers in Harlem.

Historians tell us that those who were at the head of the government in Egypt and in India, that class of people who

at one time made Egypt and India prosperous, warned the white people of those nations against this very thing, just as Jefferson and Lincoln and Douglas and Grant have been warning the American white people.

Listen to this article in the magazine Forum. Of course, I am just sandwiching in this article from the Forum for the present, because I expect to deal with Father Divine a little later and show what a great man he is to the Negroes, and show the Senate how he controlled Harlem through his cult and how he was very strong in other sections of the country.

The title of this article is "Heaven Is in Harlem and a Rolls-Royce the 'Sweet Chariot' of a Little Black God," by Sutherland Denlinger.

I read a quotation preceding the article:

There are thousands of people who call me God—

That is Father Divine talking—

Millions of them. There are millions of them who call me the devil, but I produce God and shake the earth with it.

Father Divine, telling it to a judge.

Remember that is Father Divine, who is head of the cult in Harlem, speaking—Harlem, one of the most thickly populated Negro centers in the world, I believe. I may be wrong in that statement, and if anyone knows to the contrary let me hear from them. I am told—I do not of my own knowledge know—that the politicians of New York let the colored people in Harlem have their own way, in a measure. There is no effort made to stop them from doing these things I am going to read about, such as a man pretending to be God, who so works up the people that they turn their pockets wrong side out and give up all their earthly goods, because Father Divine says, "That is the only way to heaven; give me all you have." I read:

On the evening of November 5, 1933, it had pleased the black god to descend from that "main branch" of "heaven," which is at 20 West One Hundred and Fifteenth Street, Manhattan, and appear, a short, stout, dignified figure, with the wistful eyes of a setter dog, before some 5,000 true believers gathered at the Rockland Palace, Harlem dance hall, to sing his praises. He sat on the stage surrounded by his angels—

Remember, that is Father Divine—

Faithful Mary and Satisfied Love—

Satisfied Love was one of his "angels"—

Wonderful Joy—

Another "angel"—

Sweet Sleep—

Another "angel"—

Good Dreams—

Another "angel"—

and Bouquet—

Another "angel"—

and all the rest of them—and his thick lips parted in a wide smile beneath his scraggly mustache as he watched the voters stowing away his free chicken dinner in the balcony and the folks shouting "He's father! Its wonderful!" on the main floor.

Father Divine heard the chanting—

And that chanting came from the audience, the 5,000 people—

"He's God; he's God; he's God; he's God; he's God."

That is what Father Divine heard as he was being acclaimed by his angels and his children.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I will yield for a question, and I want the Presiding Officer to decide whether it is a question or not. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes; I yield for a question only. If it is not a question, I will not yield.

Mr. DAVIS. I should like to know what book the Senator is reading from.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am reading from a periodical, not a book. The periodical is Forum. I am reading from one of

the issues of Forum Magazine, a well-known magazine. If the Senator will bear with me, I shall gladly give the Senator the date of it. It is the Forum of April 1936.

He is God.

All those exclamations "He's God!" that I repeated appear in this article. Those were the cries that came from the multitude of sinners, perhaps, who were before Father Divine. They chanted "He's God; he's God!" to the tune of Marching Through Georgia.

Senators, think of it! Father Divine recalled his boyhood in Georgia, I presume, and so his followers sang, "He's God, he's God, he's God" to the tune of Marching Through Georgia.

And he heard the rhythmic thumping of the big bass drum and the hypnotic blare of trombones and he witnessed fervid enthusiasm of this comparatively small segment of his 2,000,000 followers, and he obviously found it good. He beamed. His almost bald pate, bedewed with perspiration, and at first neither he nor his eager disciples noticed the swarthy, stocky white man with the aggressive chin and the look of a sullen Napoleon who had just then entered the hall. In a way, the presence of this newcomer might have been interpreted as a triumph for the dusky god, for Fiorello H. LaGuardia, standing now in a side aisle, a bewildered look upon his craggy features, was a reformed candidate for mayor of the city of New York, and there had been a time in the development of the deity not too far distant, when the activities of white unbelievers had been directed almost solely toward placing Father in a dungeon cell. But be that as it may, Mr. LaGuardia was able to spend some moments in uninterrupted contemplation of the scene before he was recognized and escorted, past the chicken eaters on the balcony, to a seat upon the tightly packed stage.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. DAVIS. For what purpose has the distinguished Senator from Louisiana given us that religious information? I have been absent from the Chamber. That is why I asked the question.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am sorry that because of pressing business, I presume, the Senator from Pennsylvania was not present when I gave my reason for reading this article at this time. For the Senator's information I will say that I pointed out a while ago how in Egypt and in India the early civilization had religious beliefs almost comparable in many instances to ours of today, but as the black races mixed in with the early white inhabitants of Egypt and of India a mongrel race followed, and when the mongrel race began to become populous and to take charge of the country, those countries, particularly with respect to religion, went back to barbarism, went back to the worship of animals, vegetables, and other objects as their gods, the same as in dark Africa.

My purpose in calling this Harlem situation to the attention of the Senate at the present time is to show that in Harlem, in the city of New York, the most thickly populated Negro section of the country, the Negroes are free to follow almost any religious belief they desire, that some of them have already returned to barbaric conditions insofar as religion is concerned. Imagine a people in America seriously believing that the son of a slave is God! I am trying to show that the same tendency that prevailed in Egypt and in India with relation to religion is present today in this country, in Harlem, where the Negroes go unmolested, as it were, and are permitted to carry on their religion as they desire.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the Senator give me the name of the author of that particular article?

Mr. ELLENDER. I gave it a while ago but will repeat it. The author is Sutherland Denlinger.

Let me read further. I was at the point where Father Divine probably thought that he had a new convert. Of course, I do not believe that LaGuardia came in there for that purpose, but probably Father Divine thought so, anyway, and it made him feel good.

The shouts were heard, "Father, I love you; I love you, I do." The band played it loud and hot, and the brown mass in the great auditorium swayed and sang, "Father, I surrender; Father, I surrender all to you."

This big crowd of 5,000 colored voters were shouting that to Father Divine, who happened to be in the center of the stage at the time.

Father Divine rose suddenly from his seat not far from the man who is now chief executive of the world's greatest city and broke into a well-executed buck and wing. When he subsided, mopping his brow, a colored speaker enlarged upon the dancer's divinity. "Peace, Father!" roared the hall, "it's wonderful!"

Mr. LaGuardia sat patiently. Eventually, amid frenzied applause, god himself took the microphone, to deliver in an odd, squeaky voice a message which (like many purporting to come from on high) was notable more for its ear-filling phrases than for intelligibility. Father took his time, a stenographer took notes, the 5,000 sobbed and cheered. And, when at long last he was through, and it was Mr. LaGuardia's turn, that worthy arose to make probably the strangest speech of his political career.

"Peace, Father Divine," cried the little Latin with the truculent chin, stretching out his arms in a gesture of benediction, "peace be with you all."

This is LaGuardia speaking—

It was the right note. "Peace!" shouted the eager congregation. "Peace, it's wonderful."

"I say," continued Mr. LaGuardia, "I say, Father Divine, no matter what you want, I will support you." [Cheers.]

Cheers followed in the assembly.

I am going to clean up this city, and I came here tonight to ask Father Divine's help and counsel. * * *

That is Mayor LaGuardia talking. Did he believe Father Divine to be divine? Of course not. What he wanted was Father Divine's support and vote. In that connection, I have been contending to the Senate that there are in other sections of the country, centered in the large cities, little groups of Negroes who were able, because of their political strength, to trade their votes in consideration of getting passed by certain States legislation demanding equal social rights with the whites. And here we have LaGuardia, the candidate for the mayoralty of the city of New York, coming to the son of a Negro slave asking for his help. What does he offer him in return for his support?—

Father Divine, no matter what you want, I will support you!

I continue reading from the article:

Strong words—but they were no more successful in winning a political endorsement from the good father than the honeyed syllables which fell a short time later from the lips of Tammany Candidate John Patrick O'Brien, a heavily jowled charmer who once endeared himself to an audience of Greeks by explaining that he quite understood Hellenic culture, having "translated Horace." No; as father, interrupted on election eve while greeting a contingent of the faithful from the Pacific coast, put it, "It's the principle, not the person." And so neither candidate got his support.

This attempt by rival political chieftains to obtain the blessings of father, impressive enough though it was, constitutes only one of many indications that the little black lord of Harlem heaven has become a force to be recognized.

I merely cite this occurrence in Harlem incidentally, in connection with the history of India to which I have referred, and also the Egyptian history, to show that practically the same condition exists in America today, or in certain sections of it, as existed in other eras of early civilizations.

I continue reading from the bottom of page 149 of White America, by Cox:

Religion, that mighty agency in mongrelizing the Caucasian, with its caste-eliminating, race-equalizing tenets, has been seized upon in all lands by the supernatural whites in their efforts to abolish the color line. The "melting pot" in India was not full until there arose a religion attempting to offset the Hindu religion which gave its sanction to caste to preserve the Caucasian. Hinduism taught the colored that caste was founded upon the will of God. Its purpose was to keep the races apart. When the illegitimate mix-breeds in India 25 centuries ago had increased until they were more numerous than the whites, there arose Gautama Buddha, an aristocratic mix-breed with yellow blood predominating, who stripped Hinduism (Brahmanism) of caste and sought a religious reformation that would level the races of India. India was ripe, the colored world was ripe and anxious for such a theory. The success of Buddhism knew no bounds. It was popular. Why not? The teachings of its founder gave to the mongrel a position in human society that evolution had denied him in nature. It bridged an impassable chasm with an assumption.

We leave India, having seen that every social agency of the Aryan devised to preserve race and civilization had failed; and that every social agency observable in the modern Aryan's color

problems was used in India to promote amalgamation, and succeeded. The Aryan conquerors of India utilized every remedial measure but one—they did not attempt geographical separation of races.

That very thing was offered as a solution to our problem by some of our eminent American statesmen. As I stated yesterday, I would be the last person on earth to do anything at this time in order to drive away from our midst the Negroes, by sending them to Liberia, as some profess they desire to do. So far as I am concerned, I do not care to take such steps. What I am interested in is to try to cause the two races to live separately. The time may come when the Negroes will be more numerous than are the whites, but I hope that that time will never come, because, if it does come, as I stated yesterday, we are going to have worse than lynching; we are going to have racial warfare between the whites and the Negroes, and I hope that that will never come about.

What I am praying is that the various States of the Union will stop giving the Negro social equality with the whites, and that the Congress will not give the Negro social equality with the whites, because, if it does—mark what I am telling you, Mr. President—the same warning was given to India, the same warning was given to Egypt, but the warnings went unheeded and their civilizations have perished.

I have about completed, not my speech, but my remarks on the history of India. I contend that the same thing that occurred in India occurred also in Egypt. The first inhabitants of those countries prospered; they were civilized; they progressed in the arts; they progressed in science; they progressed in every way, but just as soon as mongrelization set in, their religion was the first thing to change, and when that happened, then the race went down to decay; they were conquered, and today all we can say about the Egyptians and the Indians is that, despite whatever art and science may still remain, there has been no progress since the mongrelization set in. I repeat, Members of the Senate, what I fear is amalgamation of the white race with the Negro race, which would cause our proud American civilization to sink down to the same depths to which the civilizations of Egypt and of India have deteriorated.

Now, Senators, I am going to bring the question of mongrelization a little nearer home.

Mr. President, the histories to which I have referred dealt with the ancients—people who lived and prospered, I will say to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], before the coming of Christ. I am now going to bring the matter nearer home. I am going to bring it before the Senate as it affected the civilization of the first landing place of Columbus, the island formerly known as Hispaniola, Santo Domingo, which, as the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] knows, was discovered in 1492.

I have been speaking of the past, of civilizations that prospered and progressed in arts and sciences and medicine and in every other form prior to the coming of Christ. It is now my desire to bring the matter nearer home, and to show the Senate what has happened in the New World—in Haiti.

I am going to start by reading a brief history of Haiti, and then go just a little more into detail of that history. My purpose in giving this brief outline of the history of Haiti, is simply to give you the facts, so that you may have them in your minds, and then have you follow me through a few more detailed pages of Haitian history, to show that the civilization of that island, which at one time was dominated by whites and which at one time was prosperous, decayed, and revolutions set in, because of the inability of the Negro ruler or rulers who succeeded the whites in control, to govern their subjects.

I am sure that every reader in this audience, or a good many of them—perhaps some of them are not quite old enough; I do not know—has read of our occupation of Haiti, which was only in 1911 and 1912, because of the fact that the people of that island were unable to govern themselves, since they were in the hands of a people predominantly Negro. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS] a while ago pointed out the case of Christophe, the famous

emperor of that island; and I invited the Senate and everybody in this audience to read the history of Christophe. It is not long. It is very interesting, and it will bring the point home much better than I can do. Listen to this history, just a few little historical knickknacks that I gathered from Webster's New International Dictionary:

HAITI—HISTORICAL OUTLINE

The Republic of Haiti occupies the western third of the West Indian island sometimes called by the Spanish name Santo Domingo, but more often by its native name of Haiti. The island was discovered by Columbus in 1492 and named Hispaniola, or Little Spain; colonization began in 1496, and Haiti developed more rapidly than the other Spanish-American possessions. The desire to exploit the rich soil and gold mines led the Spaniards to establish slavery, and the population rapidly declined. Negro slaves were substituted and became the most numerous element in the population.

Keep that in mind. The Negro slaves became the most numerous element at that time. I ask you to keep that in mind and note what that most numerous element did with the Government of Haiti when control of the country was turned over to them:

In the early part of the seventeenth century pirates took possession of a large part of the territory of Haiti, which was ceded to France in 1607 by the Treaty of Ryswick (Rijswijk). As the settlements expanded and became populous they grew rebellious. When the French Revolution broke out the Negroes and mulattoes were 10 times as numerous as the whites. Conflicts arose between Negroes and mulattoes, and then came a terrible insurrection. In 1793 the allied British and Spaniards sent a force to Haiti. As a counter measure the French Convention issued in the same year a decree of emancipation for all slaves.

In Haiti, as in this country, there was an emancipation of the Negro slaves. France, which at the time I have just read dominated Haiti, was at war with the British. The British and the Spaniards desired to get possession of Haiti; but what did France do? France gave the Haitian people—who, as I have shown, were largely Negroes; there were more Negroes than whites, almost 10 to 1—their freedom, emancipated them, gave them the right to rule that little island. I shall not have time to read the entire history; but Black Majesty, by Vandercook, is a book which I hope everyone in this audience will read. It shows what took place in the Western Hemisphere, right near our doors, since the discovery of America by Columbus. It shows that when the colored race predominated this little island they were unable to govern themselves.

I repeat, that is what I fear here in America. What I intend to show is that if there is no separation of the races, and if the Negroes become in the majority, either as mongrels or not, a decay of our American civilization will inevitably set in.

In 1795 the Spanish colony on the island passed to France. Toussaint L'Ouverture then appeared as leader of the blacks, expelled the British forces, and made himself dictator of the government, which professed nominal submission to France; but in 1801 he demanded independence.

Remember, there was a little island that belonged to France. There was a little island subject to attack. In order to help it, the Government of France said to the people of the island, "All right; we will give you your freedom." Listen to what they did when they obtained their freedom and got control of the government of the island:

In 1802 a French army under Leclerc overthrew the Negroes and captured Toussaint and sent him to France, where he died in captivity. His successor, Dessalines, defeated the French and expelled them in 1803, thus blocking Napoleon's plans for taking over Louisiana.

Dessalines declared himself emperor. When he was assassinated in 1806, Christophe, a full-blooded Negro, succeeded him with the center of his power in the northwest.

That is the ruler to whom the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS] referred a while ago.

Petion, another leader, started a temporary republic in the southwest. Boyer succeeded Petion and was able to organize the people of both sections of the island into the Republic of Haiti, but after ruling for 20 years he was overthrown.

In 1844 the eastern and Spanish-speaking districts, comprising about two-thirds of the island, separated from the western part and set up the Dominican Republic. In the western portion, or

Haiti proper, anarchy prevailed. Two years later a republican constitution was proclaimed under President Riche. This did not bring peace or establish order, and the history of Haiti continued to be one of civil war, revolt, and anarchy, during which obligations were incurred to the United States and European powers for damages to their citizens.

In 1911 a joint note was submitted by the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy insisting on prompt settlement of claims.

Those were some of the civilized governments which were dealing with this Republic which was under Negro domination; and I shall read to you after a while of the things that some of the emperors and leaders of that Republic did in order to defeat the obligations they had entered into with civilized nations. It was necessary to appoint a commission of the various nations that had dealt with Haiti to force Haiti, which was ruled by Negroes, to meet its just obligations.

I read further:

This precipitated a revolution—

That is, the interference of England, the United States, and other countries—

This precipitated a revolution, which continued intermittently until 1914, when a British cruiser arrived to enforce the overdue claims awarded by arbitration. The Government at Washington thought it time to take action. American marines landed and controlled Cap-Haitien for nearly a month. In July 1915 a reign of terror was inaugurated by President Guillaume Sam, and Rear Admiral Caperton landed marines at Port-au-Prince; since that time the United States forces have controlled the country.

In 1916 a treaty was signed between Haiti and the United States which provides for the establishment of a receivership over Haitian customs under American control. This administration includes not only the distribution of funds for the payment of foreign debts but the expenditure of the balance for domestic purposes. Thus, through the supervision of the finances of Haiti, the United States controls the operations of the Government and has established a protectorate.

Mr. President, this shows what occurred within a stone's throw of this country, in our own hemisphere, since the discovery of America by Columbus. It shows without question of a doubt that the colored people have never been and never will perfect themselves to the extent of giving civilization to a people. I repeat, such a measure as the pending bill is not proposed for the purpose of preventing lynching, but merely to enable the colored people to nudge in a little closer to social equality with the whites. That is what the enactment of the pending bill will lead to, and I repeat, what I said yesterday, that if we pass the pending bill the next thing we will be asked to pass upon will be the repealing of the Jim Crow law throughout the Nation—down in Louisiana and in Georgia and in other Southern States, where we keep the two races separated.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. CONNALLY. Will the Senator in the course of his remarks, if he has not already done so, advert to the experience of the colored man in Liberia and his supposed efforts there to establish a government and a civilization of his own?

Mr. ELLENDER. I would rather not do so at this time.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not wish to urge the Senator to do it at this time if he does not care to.

Mr. ELLENDER. I would rather not go into that detail, because it is my understanding that another Senator will develop that very point at some future time.

Mr. CONNALLY. Some time this month, or next month? [Laughter.]

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not know; perhaps next July. It might be reached by that time. [Laughter.] At any rate, I would rather the Senator would not bring that particular point up at this time, because I made the statement awhile ago, to which I want to adhere, that I do not believe I would support any effort to drive the Negro from this country.

I may change my mind as time goes on, but at present I am going to try to do for the Negro what Thomas Jefferson said it was impossible to do. Thomas Jefferson said that he did not see how the Negroes and the whites could live under the same flag without an amalgamation of the two

races occurring; that they could not live separately. In the South we understand the Negro problem, and we have been able to prevent the Negroes from being on a social equality with the white folks. The Negro in the South, as the Senator from Texas knows, is polite by instinct. He gets that from generations back. But after the Negroes come to the North and rub elbows with the white folks, when they return to the South they get into trouble. They try to associate with the whites down there and, of course, we then resent it.

I shall now read some extracts from a few authors who have made a detailed study of the history of Haiti after it became independent, after the French said to the Haitians, "You folks are slaves down there now; we are afraid that England may take charge of you, and, therefore, we are going to emancipate you." Of course, after the slaves outnumbered the whites in Haiti 10 to 1, they took charge of the Government, and ran it under some of these emperors, some of these kings, who were Negroes, and who tried to rule these people. I want to show exactly how they managed it, how they ruled for themselves, not for the people; not to help the subjects whom they ruled.

France desired to establish in that country a republican form of government, but the people at the head of these military castes were those who desired power, who had become more powerful because of the fact that they were at the head of the army, and who declared themselves emperors; and let us see what happened.

I may not be able to reach that point immediately, but I shall refer to the subject as I read passages from this famous book. I repeat, by the way, I hope every Senator will read *Black Majesty* and see what happened to Haiti under the rule of this black emperor.

I shall now give a concise history of Christophe, who was at one time one of the leaders, the agitators, in Haiti and who became powerful, and because of the force he gained by virtue of the military control he acquired, he got to be emperor. Let us see how he acted. I shall give just a little history.

Henri Christophe, King of Haiti, was born in Granada, West Indies, in 1767, and died October 8, 1820. I will show later how he died. He was an African slave who received his freedom as a reward for faithful service. On the outbreak of the Negro insurrection in 1801 he became one of the leaders, and attracted by his energy and ability Toussaint L'Ouverture conferred upon him a divisional military command.

It will be recalled that this man, Toussaint L'Ouverture, declared himself emperor after the emancipation of the Negro, and after he came to the head of the Government he kicked the French out, and when the French overcame him they brought him back to France and put him in jail, where he died.

After the disposition of Toussaint, Christophe served under his successor and waged a war of intense ferocity against the French, who in 1803 were compelled to evacuate the island. In 1811 Christophe obtained undisputed possession of a portion of the island and was proclaimed Henry I, King of Haiti. His reign was despotic and bloody.

Before I read excerpts from this book, *Black Majesty*, I desire to read a little more in detail the early history of Haiti from another author. The book to which I just referred deals almost exclusively with Christophe, and it gives a picture of his life, what the conditions in Haiti were at the time he became emperor, and how he ruled with pomp and splendor; how he established the famous castle of Sans Souci up on a mountain, and how some of his followers became jealous of his aggrandizement, his climbing so fast. The book shows that within the very walls of the temple he built he reposed after an ignoble death. He was succeeded by another colored militarist who brought Haiti deeper and deeper into the mire, until it was necessary, as I pointed out a while ago, for the civilized countries of the world to take charge of the Haitian Government. Even today we have to send an American citizen to Haiti to supervise the collection

of customs, so that the American Government can be repaid the obligations that were contracted by the Haitian Government with us.

This all conclusively shows that the colored race cannot rule itself, and I hope that Senators will let that fact sink in, and save the day before it is too late; that they will take advantage of the prophecies that were made in Egypt and in India by people who lived in the ancient days, and who foretold what would happen if there were a mongrelization of the white race with the Negro race.

Mr. President, as I stated a while ago, I now desire to read in a little more detail from Haitian history. Before I go into detail in regard to the case of Christophe, I desire to point out to the Senate what happened in Haiti following its independence.

History shows that the Negro race was not entirely to blame for the revolt that took place in Haiti before its independence. Back in 1492, when Columbus discovered the island of Hispaniola, now known as Haiti, the Spaniards wanted gold. They were not interested in colonizing Haiti. They did not desire to civilize the people that were found on that island. What they went there for was gold. They did not go there to develop agriculture. They went there for gold. And, of course, it will be found in the pages of Haitian history that much cruelty was shown the natives by the Spaniards in their mad search for the precious metal.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I desire to submit a request for unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question only. If it is not a question I do not yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana declines to yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. I decline to yield. I do not wish to lose the floor.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I desire to propound a question.

Mr. ELLENDER. If it is a question I will agree to yield, but if it is not a question I decline. [Laughter.]

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I desire to inquire whether it would be possible for me to get unanimous consent to make a few remarks, about a minute or two in length, with respect to what I consider to be an unwarranted reflection—

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not know whether it will be possible.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I think the Chair will decide.

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not know whether it will be possible for the Senator to get that consent.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Chair will answer that question.

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not know whether the Chair can. I think it ought to be left to the Senate itself. I do not care to yield the floor at this time. If the Senator desires to introduce something at a later time, if he will stay here until about 2 o'clock tomorrow morning, he might be able to introduce it, because I think I might be able to stay until 2 a. m., if the Senate will listen to me. [Laughter.]

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I have no doubt the Senator can.

Mr. ELLENDER. I refuse to yield, Mr. President, except for a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator state his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. May I submit this parliamentary inquiry without taking the Senator from Louisiana off the floor?

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not wish to lose the floor. I may say to the Senator from Wyoming that I am not attempting to be discourteous to him, but under a recent ruling I would lose the floor for anything but a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. May I make a parliamentary inquiry without taking the Senator from Louisiana off the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. What is that?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Chair says it is perfectly possible. Then, Mr. President, I desire to know whether I may at this time ask unanimous consent to make a brief statement with respect to what I consider an unintended and unwarranted

reflection upon Mr. E. K. Burlew, of the Interior Department, made upon the floor this morning by the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. PITTMAN], without taking the Senator from Louisiana off the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is not a parliamentary inquiry; but the Chair will state that if the Senator from Louisiana permits the Senator from Wyoming to make such a motion he will be taken off the floor. He will lose the floor if such a question is acted upon.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I now desire to enlighten the Senate, if I may, with respect to early Haitian history. As I was saying a while ago, as long as the white people dominated the civilization of Haiti, matters went pretty well in Haiti. At one time, out of a total population of 600,000, there were something like 40,000 whites, 60,000 mulattoes, and 500,000 slaves, and that was about the relative population, when revolt took place and freedom was given to the Haitians by France. France did not consent to that independence because it wanted to, but France was then under the impression that the British or the Spaniards were going to attempt to take Haiti, and France thought that she would simply give the people of Haiti their freedom to preserve their good will and her own power.

France evidently thought that Haiti might be able to govern itself and offer its own defense against the British and the Spaniards.

The early history of Haiti, before the independence of that island, shows that as long as the black slaves were dominated by the whites, as long as it was in evidence that the whites were superior, so long as they had charge of matters in that country, the slaves remained content and worked for the benefit of all. There was no trouble then. But the moment that emancipation was given to them, the moment that the French Government gave to those people what Abraham Lincoln gave to the Negroes of this country, in that moment the 500,000 colored slaves revolted and took charge of the Government.

I now desire to read to the Senate what developed after independence was given to them, to show how it worked, to prove how despotic the rulers of that island became, and how they returned to African barbarism. That, Senators, is what I fear is going to take place in America if we permit the Negro to become stronger than the whites and attempt to take charge of this Government.

I am not speaking for the generation of the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] nor the generations of Kentucky for 100 years to come, but I am speaking for the future generations of America, and I say that if the Negro is given what the present bill proposes to give him, and what other similar bills now pending will give him, the Negro is going to come here and sit among us, and then behold. He is going to do to this country what he did in Egypt, what he did in India, and what was done in Haiti.

Let me go back to the Haitian history. The title of the book from which I am about to read is Hayti or the Black Republic, by Sir Spenser St. John, K. C. M. G.

I suppose that is an English title. I read from chapter III:

"Que deviendra notre pays quand il sera livré à la vanité et à l'ignorance," exclaimed Bauvais, one of the leaders of the mulatto party. I am afraid this sketch of the history of Haiti since the war of independence will show what are the results to a country when governed by vanity and ignorance.

Having driven out the French by deeds of unquestioned valor and energy, and with a cruelty which the infamous conduct of Rochambeau could palliate, if not justify, the Haitians determined to throw off all allegiance to France and establish an independent government.

At Gonaïves, on the 1st of January 1804, General Dessalines assembled all his military chiefs—

Dessalines, as I stated a while ago, was a Negro who gained quite a reputation as a lover of his race in that island and became strong, so much so that after the French yoke was broken he became emperor—

Dessalines assembled all his military chiefs around him and had read to them the Act of Independence, which terminated with the words, "forever to renounce France, and to die rather than live under her dominion."

In a proclamation, Dessalines was careful to declare that it was not their mission to disturb the tranquillity of neighboring islands, but in unmistakable language he called upon them to put to death every Frenchman who remained in the island.

That is what this emperor desired to do with the Frenchmen, the benefactors of his people, who gave them independence, who emancipated them. He put them out or killed them.

This was followed by a declaration signed by the chief generals choosing Dessalines as Governor-General of Haiti for life, with power to name his successor, and to make peace or war. He was thus vested with arbitrary power, and proceeded to exercise it.

His first act was the one on which his fame rests, and which endears his memory to the Haitians. He in fact decreed that all the French who were convicted or suspected of having connived the acts of the expelled army, with the exception of certain classes, as priests and doctors, should be massacred.

That is what that brute did to his benefactors. This applied not only to those suspected of guilt but to all their wives and children.

Fearing that some of his generals, from interest or sympathy, might not fully carry out his decree, he made a personal tournée through the different departments—

I suppose "tournée" means a tour.

and pitilessly massacred every French man, woman, or child that fell his prey.

One can imagine the saturnalia of these liberated slaves enjoying the luxury of shedding the blood of those in whose presence they had formerly trembled, and that without danger of reprisal. What resistance could these helpless men, women, and children offer to their savage executioners? Even now one cannot read unmoved the record of those days of horror.

These horrors remind me, Senators, of the condition that existed in my own State soon after the Civil War, during the reconstruction period when Federal Negro soldiers were sent down into the city of New Orleans to take charge of the affairs of that city. History shows that those Negro soldiers, in the presence of each other and in the presence of the mothers, seized young girls and debauched them. That is why the South rose en masse and would not tolerate Negro domination; that is what caused the trouble, the bitterness, and the hatred down South during reconstruction days, when the strong arm of the Federal Government reached into the South and said to us, "You white folks down there cannot govern yourselves; we will let the Negro be in politics and govern the Southern States."

I do not want to bare those wounds; they are now closed; the scars have been almost effaced. Let us take care not to do anything that will reopen them. Let not the strong arm of the Federal Government extend into Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and other Southern States, and infer, "You cannot govern yourselves; the Federal Government must go down and show you and teach you how you are to handle the Negro problem." We are doing a good job, Senators, and we propose to do the job ourselves, in our own way, as we have been doing it in the past.

I continue the reading:

Dessalines, like most of those who surrounded him, was in every way corrupt; he is said to have spared no man in his anger or woman in his lust. He was avaricious, but at the same time he permitted his friends to share in the public income by every illicit means. His government was indeed so corrupt that even the native historians allow that the administration was distinguished "for plunder, theft, cheating, and smuggling."

Imagine the head of a government being guilty of such crimes.

Dessalines, when he appointed an employee, used to say—

Listen to this, if you can understand it:

Plumez la poule, mais prenez garde qu'elle ne crie.

That happens to be French. I am not much of a French scholar but I will translate it. I will reread it in the language in which it appears:

Plumez la poule, mais prenez garde qu'elle ne crie.

The English translation is, "Pluck the chicken, but mind you that it does not squawk."

That was his doctrine: "Take all you can; go to the home of any citizen and plunder all his belongings, but do not

make any noise about it. Steal from them; I will keep my ears closed." That was the doctrine preached by the head of that nation's government, who happened to be a colored man. I will not entertain the spectacle of such a condition in this country. Of course, as I have said many times, it will never come in my lifetime; it will never come in the lifetime of my children's children's children; but I am prophesying for future generations. I hope that America will realize the seriousness of the situation before it becomes too late.

The tyranny exercised by Dessalines and his generals on all classes made even the former slaves feel that they had changed for the worse. There were no courts to mitigate the cruelty of the hard taskmasters, who, on the slightest pretext, would order a man or woman to be beaten to death.

This, Mr. President, was in Haiti, within a stone's throw of our country. I am reading the history of what occurred not 4,000 years before Christ but just a little more than a century ago. That condition prevailed in our own Western Hemisphere because of the fact that the rulers of that island were of the colored race who had superseded the whites who were not predominant. So long as the whites predominated there was order.

I am just wondering what would have happened to the South if the Negroes there had simply been turned loose and the great Federal Government here in Washington had attempted to keep order by the same method that prevailed during reconstruction days. I ponder what would have happened to the American Nation under similar circumstances. Just as surely as I am talking to you, with more colored in some States down there than white, and in many States almost as many, if the South had been dominated by the Negroes, that in itself would have sooner or later caused this Government to have sunk to the depths of India, of Egypt, of Haiti, and other countries in like conditions. It is fortunate that the white South revolted in reconstruction days and took charge of its government, for white supremacy prevailed. It is fortunate not only for the South but for the North; in fact, for this fair country of ours as a whole.

In the month of August 1804 news arrived that Bonaparte had raised himself to the imperial throne of France. Dessalines determined not to be outdone, and immediately had himself crowned emperor. His generals were eager that a nobility should be created; but he answered, "I am the only noble in Haiti." As the eastern portion of the island was still occupied by the French, he determined to drive them out; but he was unable to take the city of Santo Domingo, and retired again to the west.

In June 1805 he published a constitution, which was framed without consulting his generals, and created discontent among them. A conspiracy was organized, arising in the south, followed a visit from Dessalines, where he had given full scope to his brutality; and the insurgents marched forward and seized Port-au-Prince. When the emperor heard of this movement, he hastened to the capital, but fell into an ambush, and was shot at Port Rouge, about half a mile from the city.

The only good quality that Dessalines possessed was a sort of brute courage; in all else he was but an African savage, distinguished even among his countrymen for his superior ferocity and perfidy.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. This morning the Senator stated that when he started reading a book that would mean filibustering had started. Is that correct now?

Mr. ELLENDER. No. I am going to repeat what I said this morning. So far as I am personally concerned—and I mean this sincerely—this filibuster has not started, because I am not now filibustering. Although I have been on this floor 5 days, I am not filibustering. I am still trying to prove my case as I see this question. I have developed a line of thought which I have been trying to follow through, and that line of thought is to show that conditions which have existed in other countries may affect this country in course of time should equality of races be allowed.

I will say further that I may filibuster on this bill; I may get off the subject; but so far as I am personally concerned I am going to talk here until the breath is out of my body before the pending bill passes the Senate.

Furthermore, I am not going to stand before the Senate and prevent the passage of any legislation desired by the President. I am willing to have the pending bill set aside for that purpose, so far as I am personally concerned; I do not want this bill in any manner to prevent the passage of any other legislation. If the leaders on the other side of the question desire, so far as I am concerned—I am talking now only for ALLEN ELLENDER, the junior Senator from Louisiana; I am not speaking for the other Senators—I repeat I am willing at any time to have the pending bill set aside so as to allow any other legislation to come in and be considered, and then come back and debate this bill, if we must; but I will say to the proponents of this bill that I will stay here until Christmas after next before it shall pass the Senate.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question only.

Mr. TYDINGS. Is the Senator reading from Black Majesty?

Mr. ELLENDER. No, sir.

Mr. TYDINGS. What is the book from which he is reading? Is it a history of Haiti?

Mr. ELLENDER. It is a history of Haiti by a famous Englishman. Black Majesty is more in the nature of a novel.

Mr. TYDINGS. Who is the author of the book from which the Senator is reading?

Mr. ELLENDER. The author is Sir Spenser St. John, K. C. M. G., which means, I presume, that he is a great writer.

Mr. LODGE. It means "Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George."

Mr. ELLENDER. I thank the Senator from Massachusetts for his contribution. Continuing reading from this volume:

He was incapable as an administrator and treated the public revenue as his own private income. He had concubines in every city, who were entitled to draw on the treasury to meet their extravagance; in fact, the native historians are in truth utterly ashamed of the conduct and civil administration of their national hero.

The death of Dessalines proved the signal of a long civil war. A national assembly met at Port-au-Prince, voted a constitution prepared by General Petion, by which the power of the chief of the state was reduced to a minimum, and then elected Christophe.

Christophe is the emperor to whom I referred a while ago, and about whom the book on my desk is written; it is very interesting, and I repeat that I hope the Senator from Washington [Mr. SCHWELLENBACH] will read the book, not for his enlightenment, but just for pastime.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The Senator intends to read that book, too; does he?

Mr. ELLENDER. I have read it a dozen times.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I mean, here, so that we may listen to it.

Mr. ELLENDER. I may read it at some time in the future. I do not know yet, but I may; perhaps not at this sitting, but a little later on—in July or August, when the weather is warm. [Laughter.]

He in some respects was another Dessalines, and resented this effort to restrain his authority. He marched on the capital of the west with 12,000 men, but after various combats failed to capture the city; then retired to Cap-Haitien, and there had a constitution voted which proclaimed him President of Haiti.

The senate again met in Port-au-Prince in 1806 to elect a President, and their choice fell on Petion, who, of all the influential men in the west and south, certainly appeared the most deserving. He had scarcely been installed, when his generals began to conspire against him, and the war with Christophe absorbed most of the resources of the country. No event, however, of any great importance occurred till the year 1810, when Rigaud, having escaped from France, arrived in Haiti, and was received with much enthusiasm. Petion apparently shared this feeling for his old chief, and imprudently gave him the command of the southern department. Rigaud was too vain to remain under the authority of Petion, his former subordinate, and therefore separated the south from the west. The President would not

attempt to prevent this by war, and accepted the situation, so that the island was divided into five states—Christophe in the north, the old Spanish colony in the east, Petion in the west, Rigaud in the south, and Goman, a petty African chief, in the extreme west of the southern department.

Christophe in 1811 proclaimed himself king and created a nobility.

Rigaud died, and soon after the south rejoined the west, which was menaced by a new invasion from the north. In 1812 Christophe's army advanced to besiege Port-au-Prince; but finding their attacks frustrated, the soldiers, weary of the war, began to desert to Petion, and had not the King hastened to raise the siege, it is probable his army would have gone over to the enemy.

King Henry I, as he was called, appears then to have abandoned himself to his savage temper, and his cruelties might be compared to those of Dessalines, and prepared the way for that union of the whole island which followed. Petion, though rather an incapable ruler, was not cruel, and attached the people to his government.

In 1814, the fall of Napoleon brought about peace in Europe, and the French Government hastened to send agents to Haiti to claim submission to the mother country. Petion refused, whilst offering an indemnity to the colonists; but Christophe, having secured the secret instructions of the French agent, did not hesitate to execute them. These proceedings of the French made the rival chiefs forget their own dissensions and prepare to receive another French expedition. Orders were given that on its appearance off the coast every town and village should be burnt down, and that the inhabitants should retire to the mountains. The old planters were urging their Government to destroy all the inhabitants of Haiti and repeople it from Africa; but a discovery of their projects produced so great an effect in England, that public opinion forced the Congress of Vienna to declare that the slave-trade was forever abolished.

In 1816 Petion named a commission to revise the constitution; the principal alterations were to elect a President for life and to add to the Senate a Chamber of Deputies. Petion, however, did not long enjoy his new dignity; he died in 1818, at the early age of 48, it is said of fever, but the opinion is still prevalent in Haiti that he died of weariness of life, brought on by the loss of all his illusions and the constant public and private annoyances to which he was subject. During his illness he is said to have refused all restoratives, and even to have rejected food. Petion, though not a great man, sincerely loved his country, and devoted his energies to govern it well; but he was feeble in his measures, and from love of popularity allowed every kind of abuse to flourish in the financial administration. M. Robin, however, says truly that he was "the most popular and humane chief that Haiti ever possessed."

Boyer, through the energetic intervention of the military, was unanimously chosen by the Senate President of the Republic, and commenced his long career as chief of the state in March 1818. Though he committed many faults, he appears to have been the most energetic and honest of the series of Haitian rulers. His first care was to establish order in the finances; and if his only errors were not to have erected a statue to his predecessor or founded a hospital for beggars, with which M. Robin appears to reproach him, his friends may still be permitted to admire him. Fortune, or rather his energy, everywhere favored him. In 1819 he put down the long-neglected insurrection of Goman in the far west, and then prepared to move against King Henry, whose savage rule had alienated the affection even of his own guards. Struck down by apoplexy, the chief of the northern department was deserted by all, and sought refuge from anticipated indignities in suicide.

The north was almost unanimously determined to rejoin the rest of the Republic, and Boyer marched on Cap-Haitien, to be received there with enthusiasm as the first president of United Haiti.

Christophe was no doubt a very remarkable man, with indomitable energy, who saw the necessity of developing his country, but whose despotic nature cared not for the means, so that the end was attained.

Christophe, as I have stated, was the ruler, and was formerly a Negro slave. He was all right, so some historians say, but for his despotic nature, and he cared not for the means employed, so that the end was attained.

In spite of many admitted atrocities, however, there is no doubt he acquired a marked ascendancy over the minds of the people, which even to this day is not completely lost. Discussions still continue as to the rival systems of Petion and Christophe, but if, to secure the greatest happiness to the greatest number be the object of government, the *laissez-faire* system of the former was more suited to Haytian nature than the severity of the latter. As far as material prosperity was concerned, there was no comparison between the two departments, though the productiveness of the north was founded on the liberal application of the stick. On many of the large estates, a certain number of lashes was served out every morning as regularly as the rations.

Boyer's fortune continued. In 1822 Santo Domingo separated from Spain and placed herself under the command of the President of Hayti, who was welcomed in the Dominican capital with every demonstration of joy.

Mr. President and Members of the Senate, there is quite a bit more of this history of Haiti, which deals particularly with the country after it became independent. It is not my desire at this time to read the rest of this history, nor shall I ask, because of its length, that it be included with my remarks—I do not want to burden the Record—but, seriously, I invite the attention of Senators to the book, and urge them to read it, and be convinced of what I am trying to lay before them: That the colored race, if permitted to take charge of affairs, is not equal to the occasion. Let us attempt, as I have said on several occasions, to deal fairly with the members of that race, as we have done in the South; sympathetically and kindly, and above all, understandingly.

There may be in the South, as there may be in the North, a number of white men with black hearts; I mean by that, cruel men who may have done wrong to the Negroes, just as the early Spaniards did wrong to the inhabitants of Haiti when they took possession of that island, in their attempt to secure its gold and other riches. I want to say, however, that the good people of the South, the thinking people, the people as a whole, are very sympathetic with the Negro. We have been considerate of the Negro all of our lives. As a matter of fact, we consider the Negroes our wards. They are a great economic asset to us down South. We treat them kindly; and when I say that, I mean the larger portion of the white race do. I believe, and in fact I know, that the Negro of the South loves the white people of the South; he always has, and in most cases he is obedient to the whites' wishes.

Read the history of the Civil War, and you will find that notwithstanding the fact that many of the slaves obtained their freedom, they still remained with their former masters. I can give you a personal experience. My grandfather, the late Thomas Ellender, owned slaves. A kinder man never lived. Because of his sympathetic understanding and just treatment to his Negro slaves, I want to say, that they never left his farm. It was only 2 years ago that one of those slaves died on my father's plantation.

This Negro's name was Henry Simmons. He came to our plantation as a slave, he remained there, he raised his family there, he died there, and today on that very place is his son, Rodney. I love Rodney Simmons. He is a colored man, but I love him. We have been kind to him and he to us.

I will never forget "Aunt Clara." We call the old colored people "Uncle So-and-So" or "Aunt So-and-So." "Aunt Clara," the wife of "Uncle Henry," was kind to me, and I will never forget her. I loved her. In the morning I would sneak away from my home, when I was but 4 or 5 years old, and sometimes my mother would not know where I was. "Aunt Clara" lived in a cabin in the servants' quarters and I would go over to "Aunt Clara's" and get from her some of the big biscuits she used to make, and which I liked. I liked "Aunt Clara" a lot.

The colored man of the South has the respect of the white men. He has never tried to rub elbows with him. The only time the colored man ever becomes obnoxious to the whites is when he goes up in the North and meets with some of the white folks, who instill discontent in his mind, and, lacking in good judgment, he is influenced. It is because the northern whites permit them to rub elbows that they develop impertinence.

When the colored man comes back home and tries the same conduct, we do not stand for it down there and he soon realizes it. We feel kindly toward the colored people of the South, we like them, we are sympathetic with their troubles, and many of them have I myself fed and cared for, paid their doctor bills, and acted as their attorney when they needed one; helped them out in every way possible, and I have never refused them assistance. That is the true feeling of Southerners for the colored people in the South and I am confident that the same sympathetic feeling does not prevail between the Negroes of the North and the white people of the North, a statement I make without fear of contradiction, because, notwithstanding the fact, as I have pointed out in the last 3 or 4 days, that the Constitution of the United States guarantees to the Negro race equal rights

under the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments, some legislatures have seen fit to pass the statutes I have read drawing the color line closer and closer, because they have been forced to follow such procedure.

Why was that? It was because when the Negro first attempted to rub elbows with the whites up here they were repulsed, and that is why these little groups of Negroes, when they became a little powerful, when they were given the ballot, had these statutes enacted into the law to enforce their demands upon the white people. I can just imagine someone in these little cliques saying, "This restaurant man on Fifth Avenue says I can't go in his hotel to eat. I am going to show him. I'll get our society together, and we'll get a law passed, so he won't dare refuse me again."

It was because some of these Negroes were refused burial in the same cemeteries with the whites and were prevented from going into the same hotels and dining in the same restaurants, as the northern people certainly must have refused them, that the statutes were passed. Otherwise they never would have been put on the statute books.

Nothing like these statutes is found in the South, because I do not believe the Negroes have ever tried to go into the various restaurants there, and if they did, they soon realized that they had a new lesson to learn. The South will never surrender its white supremacy.

Mr. President, I have covered the Haitian history only in a limited way, and, as I have just said, I hope that Senators will read the rest of the chapter from which I have been reading. It is not only interesting, but it brings the point home to us. It makes it clear that what happened in India and what happened in Egypt and what happened in Haiti may happen in this country, if certain conditions are not checked.

I have spoken of Christophe, and I shall read just a few passages from the book I hold in my hand, and I entertain the hope that Senators will read the whole of the book, because it contains very interesting reading matter, and it makes the point clearer than I would ever be able to make it, and leads inescapably to the conclusion of which I have spoken.

The long southern peninsula of Haiti, a narrow procession of steep, unfertile mountains, divided by a hundred precipices from natural intercourse with the rest of the country, had always been a center of rebellion. The old affranchi class was strongest there. In that region the prosperous mulatto planters had never accepted the blacks as their political or social equals. They scorned ignorant, fiery Dessalines and hated him for one of the few laws he had dictated—that all subjects of his empire should be known as "blacks."

This outlawed more than a hundred words that had come into use to describe various shades of color and mixtures of blood. It had all been worked out with elaborate care. A man who could prove his veins bore 228 parts white blood to 94 parts Negro felt himself the social superior of another who was known to be afflicted with 84 parts Negro blood to only 112 parts white. And Jean Jacques, the clown of the minuet, had laughed at their little dignities! It was a thing not to be forgiven even an emperor and a conqueror. The very governors and generals he had appointed, who had risen to power under his protection and owed their authority to the luster of his name, began to rise against him. The mulattoes in all parts of the empire joined with them. Murmurs of restlessness and gusts of laughter grew to active civil war.

The southern peninsula fell to the rebels. Word came to Emperor Jean Jacques, but he angrily dismissed the messengers. More of their tedious papers.

They were marching on Port-au-Prince. The capital was doomed to fall at any hour, they told him. Emperor Jean Jacques could not understand. They brought him news of a rebellion, but no mention of battles, of charges, repulses, and death. Was no one resisting, or had all the world gone mad? Suddenly Jean Jacques began to roar with the raging fury that had defeated France. The sneaking yellow men had betrayed him. He'd make all right and orderly with a few swift saber strokes. He had but to ride proudly in his finest uniform before his people and they would remember who was master.

He mounted his horse, gathered his personal staff about him, and started for Port-au-Prince.

I have read this particular passage merely to show that even among the Negro race itself there was Christophe, who was trying to rule, and, as this little history from which I read shows, he tried to govern wisely. He was not educated, but he attempted to rule to the best of his ability.

I think history will bear out that statement. He entrusted certain details to the judgment of his generals, to the consideration of people with whom he dealt. Instead of trying to help him to make of Haiti a proud country in which to live, to make it prosperous, to make it progress, they failed miserably. The savage instinct from Africa, the lust, was stronger in them than the idea of trying to advance; and let me read what fate befell the man who had fed them, who was their emperor.

It may be that Christophe was unwise in trying to establish upon a mountain, a citadel of such elaborateness, a fortress of such stupendous grandeur, that it threatened to impoverish his subjects. It may be that his subjects had the right to revolt because of all the money that was being spent by the emperor for his obsession and for the convenience of his white wife in the citadel. He might have gone too far, and that may be the reason why some of these leaders in Haiti turned against him and caused his death in his own castle, as I will read from the last few pages of this book. Although an effort was being made to establish in Haiti a republican form of government for the good of the people living in that island, yet notwithstanding the fact that here was one of their leaders who was probably abler than anyone else in the island to put that proposition over, he could not find among his followers men he could trust. Can we imagine such a thing happening in this country? I ask the question.

I now read from chapter 16, page 190:

Among the underservants at Sans Souci was an old black man, born in Africa, who professed to be a witch doctor. He had first come to Milot in chains to be tried by the king for the offense of practicing his trade without proper regard for the kingdom's laws "governing the medical profession." But Christophe had acquitted him and he had stayed on at the palace.

At daybreak this man was brought to the king's bed chamber. For 2 hours the witch doctor, aided by a valet, massaged Henry's body with a mixture of red pepper and raw rum, a liniment held in great esteem in the old slave days. At 9 o'clock they dressed him in his most splendid blue-and-white-and-gold uniform, and at 10 his four bodyguards propped him in a throne-like chair and carried him down the stairs and out onto the main terrace at the palace's western end.

Below, filling the narrow valley of Milot and stretching away into the humid distance, were the assembled regiments of the Army of Haiti, their rich and vivid uniforms glinting brightly in the morning sun. Certain companies were missing, but it was a lack no one spoke of.

Every eye was turned toward the palace. Half the Army saw the king's chair being carried to its place on the terrace. Five thousand blacks could hear Christophe's booming, roaring voice break the silence:

"Bring me my horse," he called.

It was the first sound he had uttered that day.

The white horse, fully caparisoned, was waiting behind a wall. In a complete and breathless quiet a groom led it across the terrace toward Henry's throne.

At sight of it a vast shouting smashed the silence. With a single voice the Army cheered, "Vive le Roi! Vive l'homme Christophe!"

That is French. "Vive le Roi" means "long live the king." "Vive l'homme Christophe" means "long live the man Christophe."

Down the valley thousands of hats were flung into the air. The hoarse, gigantic shouting beat against the mountains and rolled back in thundering echoes. Drummers in ranks pounded wildly, fiercely, on their drums.

The horse came to a stand 10 feet from the throne. The four bodyguards turned toward the King. He shook his head and swept them away with his arm. He twitched off the robe that covered his lap.

Dr. Stewart, standing in the crowd, pulled at his clean-shaven chin and stared.

Christophe looked straight before him. He breathed deep. The cheering suddenly ceased while the echoes faded down the valley. Christophe stood erect. In five powerful, headlong strides he reached the white horse. One hand went to its mane, the other to the saddle. He bent a little to leap up. But while the court and army looked on, King Christophe slowly, slowly, like an empty bag, slumped down till he lay under the horse's feet with his arms outstretched and his face against the earth. The strength so miraculously summoned for the instant had gone out of him.

Rain had fallen during the night. When Stewart, the Queen, little Vastey, and Dupuy picked him up, his uniform was smeared with mud. Dry sobs were shaking him.

When they set him back in the throne the soldiers below cheered again, but this time the sound was scattered and half-hearted. The Queen bit her lips. The gaping courtiers nearby noted with astonishment that sour, silent Dr. Stewart, was smiling

with a queer proud smile and that tears ran unashamed down his furrowed cheeks.

The King gave an order. A page ran down the stairs to where the first company of soldiers stood by the singing fountain that fell over the bright blue wall.

The parade began.

As each platoon passed the throne where Christophe sat the men broke into spontaneous cheers: "Vive le Roi! Vice l'homme Christophe!"

A little beyond him a clerk sat at a table and gave each man as he passed a gift from the King of four gourdes of money.

Then, because they had reached the far end of the west terrace, the line of marching men turned around a high garden wall that hid Christophe from their sight.

The review lasted several hours. Christophe sat upright and kept his right hand rigidly in salute. But when a third of the procession had passed him, two sorts of cheering sounded faintly in the valley.

As the soldiers passed before him they called, "Vive l'homme Christophe"; as they passed around the corner of the wall out of sight of him, they broke ranks, and, all unconscious of the contrast, shouted, "A bas le Roi! Vive l'indépendance!"

"Down with the king. Give us independence."

Each company had been touched by the revolution. Duke Richard and the generals associated with him had given word that there was to be no more work, that the Kingdom would become part of the republic, and that all men at last were to be gloriously free. "The tyranny is ended," was the cry.

They had come to the review drawn by a lingering dread and a lingering love for their King. But the master had crumpled into the mud, and though, when his eyes were on them, they cheered and stayed in stiff parade, once out of his sight they were quit of him.

At last the tail of the procession, still meek but not cheering, passed and Christophe turned his head to find that the nobles, the generals, the servants, the gentlemen, and ladies in waiting who had stood behind his throne in the morning, had quietly slipped away. Except for a few who stood close to him he was alone.

Remember, I am reading now about King Christophe, and my purpose in doing so is to show how frequently revolutions took place in such countries. The people were incapable of ruling, and the moment one of their own race tried to govern, as this man tried, revolution started, jealousies grew up, and, of course, a new government was created. The conditions on that island were such as to make its people live in fear at all times. There was no real government.

The valet and the witch doctor; elderly, wise Prevost, Count of Limonade and Secretary of State; Dupuy; Baron Vastey; three old, erect black generals; the Scotch physician; the fat Prince Royal Victor-Henry; the young Negro Princesses, Athenaire and Amethiste; and Marie-Louise, his beloved, gentle, simple Queen, were there beside him. A stone's throw away was the Palace of Sans Souci—queerly named—its doorways empty and its leaded windows swinging wide. Evidently the last of its servants and sentries had gone away.

The King lifted his hands helplessly to them and they carried him through the echoing, silent palace up to his balcony.

They brought him his battered brass telescope. He sent one of the generals down the royal road to find out the progress of the rebellion and bring the report back.

Athenaire and Amethiste, his daughters, one 20 and the other 22, sat on the ground and laid their cheeks against his knees. He sent the others away.

He saw the solitary general, who somewhere had found a rich, brocaded banner, ride proudly down the wide road toward Cap Henry. The old man went as if a great army followed close behind him. Two hours later, in the twilight he came back. A rebel sniper had shot off his cocked hat and he had lost his banner. He was still alone.

Christophe sent his daughters away and asked for Dr. Stewart. The sun sank below the far-away rim of the sea and the night rose swiftly up the hills. Soon the valley of Milot was dark and murmurous. The sunlight touched the mountain peaks and then was gone.

The Scotch doctor sat on a stiff chair beside the King. They had been friends so long, talk was superfluous.

Once Henry whispered: "Toussaint, the Tiger and I . . . We dreamed so much and we have done so little."

Again, with a certain rich pride in his tone, he said: "To be great, Duncan, is to be lonely. To be magnificent is to have men hate you."

The sky was red with the reflection of flames. The King's chateaux in the Plaine du Nord were on fire. Through the brass telescope one could see little dancing shadows pass before the pyres of flames. Now and then an isolated shot, a sound of distant cheering, and a brief mad rumble on a tom-tom drum came up to them. Christophe cleared his throat.

"Duncan, they will be here soon now. You must go. There are still horses in the stables, I think. Take whatever you can find that's worth anything, then go by back trails to the Cap. You will be safe with the English consul. Good-bye."

"Henry," said Dr. Stewart, "don't be a God-damned fool." He stood up. "I am going to send Marie-Louise and the children to you, but I will be over the hall if you want me."

They shook hands.

The Queen and the King's three children came to him. He then sent for Vastey and Dupuy. He said good-bye to them all; gave, in something of his old tone of command, orders that the two men were to take his family at once to Cap Henry and put them under the protection of English friends there. He gave Marie-Louise the papers that entitled her to the fortune Sir Home Popham had deposited in the Bank of England for her. Then he kissed them and sent them away.

When they had gone he called his valet and asked him to bring a bowl of water.

While the man stood by he slowly washed his hands and dried them on a damask napkin. Then he sent the man away.

But the servant stayed outside the door of the King's bed-chamber and watched through the keyhole.

He saw Christophe, after a long, quiet minute, throw himself off his chair and with clutching fingers drag himself across the room to a closet. He saw him reach up and turn the knob, saw him pull down a snow-white satin gown, roll himself into it, and then, like some stricken animal, drag himself horribly across the floor to his bed and lift himself onto it.

From where he lay Christophe could look down the valley. It was not empty now. It was filled with a shouting, running mob of men carrying torches.

The King took something from a little cabinet by his bedside. While the trembling valet still peered hypnotized through the keyhole watching him, he fell back and lay still. A tall clock in the corridor ticked regularly.

Running feet sounded on the stairways. The first of the looting rebels were already in the palace.

A great crash of broken glass was heard.

"They are breaking even the mirrors that have imaged me," said the King aloud, and his voice was broken.

He clenched his right fist and raised his left hand, which held a pistol to his temple.

A shot reverberated, followed by sudden quiet. The King was dead. He had put a golden bullet, molded long ago, through his brain.

Mr. President, the reading of this little passage simply shows the extent of the barbaric savagery that was in the hearts of those people around Christophe, the king who fed them, and who tried to take care of them.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield to the Senator for a question.

Mr. CONNALLY. Since the hour of 5 o'clock has arrived, I inquire whether the Senator has concluded his remarks, or whether he would prefer to go on tomorrow; and if unanimous consent could be secured for that purpose, whether that would be agreeable to the Senator.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, let me say that I am very serious and in earnest about the question I am now discussing. Yesterday and today I have tried, to the best of my ability, to show what happened in foreign countries long before the birth of Christ. For the past hour I have been trying to bring the matter a little nearer home—as it affects Haiti, and to show what happened in Haiti when Haiti had a colored ruler. I have now reached the point where I expect, if I may be permitted—it will not take me long—to bring this matter home to America; to show that the same practices with reference to religion that prevailed in Egypt and in India are being carried on right here in this country, and that under such an influence the Negro is prone to revert to barbaric acts.

Mr. President, personally I can go on a little longer. I may be able to get through this afternoon or this evening; but if I am permitted to resume and conclude my remarks tomorrow, it will not take me long, as I have said, and I should like to complete them tomorrow so as to have my entire speech in consecutive order. I therefore ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to continue my remarks tomorrow.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I desire to make an inquiry of the Senator. He said it would not take him long to conclude his remarks. Will he state about how long he expects to speak?

Mr. ELLENDER. I will say to the Senator from Kentucky that I am quite confident that I can conclude what I want to say in about 2 hours, or two hours and a half; not much

longer. If unanimous consent to that effect can be obtained, provided I do not lose the floor, I will yield now for a recess.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I wish to make a statement in connection with my reservation of an objection.

It is useless to try to enforce the rules against more than two speeches by the same Senator on a single legislative day, if at the end of each day unanimous consent is to be given that the speaker who has not concluded at that time shall go on the next day, because under the rule he loses the floor. While the Chair might recognize him the next day if it were his second speech, the Chair could not recognize him the next day if it were his third speech, which would be the case now with the Senator from Louisiana.

I am not going to object to the Senator's request, but I desire to serve notice that my action is not to be regarded as a precedent. I am not thereby bound to consent hereafter to any other Senator being recognized by unanimous consent in violation of the rules, which, of course, can always be abrogated by unanimous consent and anything permitted. We might as well understand, however, that we are in the middle of a filibuster; and if any effort is to be made to bring this matter to a conclusion, those who are indulging in the filibuster need not expect those of us who have to sit here from day to day, and by our presence give ear to all that is said pertaining to this bill, to waive the rules which might in some imaginary case be expected to begin to commence to start to bring this debate to a conclusion.

With that understanding, I shall not object at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Senator from Louisiana will be permitted to conclude his remarks tomorrow.

LOCAL OPTION TERRITORY IN 1937

[Mr. SHEPPARD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement entitled "Local Option Territory in 1937," which appears in the Appendix.]

PREVENTION OF AND PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHING

[Mr. McKELLAR asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter from R. E. Folk, of Nashville, Tenn., relative to the pending bill, which appears in the Appendix.]

PUNISHMENT OF ROBBERY IN THE DISTRICT

Mr. BARKLEY obtained the floor.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Kentucky yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BILBO. Today I introduced a bill affecting the laws of the District of Columbia, in the hope that the enactment of the bill would put a stop to the wave of crime which seems to have besieged the Nation's Capital.

I observe in the afternoon newspapers a report from the police department. Three hold-ups, in which colored bandits collected loot to the amount of \$243, together with 11 housebreakings, 9 thefts from parked automobiles, 3 purse snatchings, 2 pocket pickings, and 4 bicycle thefts were reported to the police during the 24 hours ending at 8 o'clock a. m. today. Maj. Ernest Brown, superintendent of police, said these reports did not indicate an unusual amount of crime in the city.

If that statement is true, I think the bill which I have introduced, if enacted, will help Major Brown and the police force of this city to give us some semblance of law and order in the District of Columbia. I ask at this time unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The bill (S. 3282) to amend the law with respect to robbery in the District of Columbia, to provide that such crime may be punished as a capital offense, is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 810 of the act entitled "An act to establish a code of laws for the District of Columbia," approved March 3, 1901, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 810. Whoever shall feloniously take or attempt to take anything of value from the person or the immediate actual possession of another against his will by force, by violence to his

person, or by putting such person in fear of immediate injury to his person by the exhibition of a deadly weapon, shall be guilty of robbery, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by death if the penalty is so fixed by the jury, and if the jury fails to fix the penalty at death, shall be imprisoned for any term of not less than 10 years which may be fixed by the court."

SEC. 2. Section 811 of such act of March 3, 1901, as amended, is hereby repealed.

PREVENTION OF AND PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHING

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1507) to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws and to punish the crime of lynching.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let the Chair make a statement. A number of Senators are not here, but the Chair, nevertheless, ought to make the statement.

Technically, the Senate has under consideration the amendment offered to the antilynching bill by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], as modified. Any Senator who obtains the floor, technically speaking, is addressing himself to that particular amendment. His remarks on it constitute one speech. The Chair does not think he ought to hold that that is the case when Senators present other matters, but thinks, in order so to hold, that the remarks should be directed to the particular amendment which is pending, or to the bill.

To illustrate, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO] has just had the floor to submit a certain matter. Nevertheless, he has had the floor, and the Senate has under consideration the particular amendment stated by the Chair. The Chair thinks he ought to make this statement, so that when some Senator makes the technical objection that another Senator has had the floor for the second time, the Chair will not so hold under conditions such as he has just related.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McKELLAR. Have I had the floor?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee has had the floor several times.

Mr. McKELLAR. On this bill?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thought the Senator asked whether he had technically had the floor more than once.

Mr. McKELLAR. Oh, no.

The VICE PRESIDENT. So far as the Chair knows, and as the Chair is advised by the clerk at the desk, the Senator from Tennessee has had the floor one time.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Although the Senator has addressed the Chair and transacted some business on other occasions.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, sir; I realize that, but I thank the Vice President.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry so that Senators may be guided in the future.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yesterday the Senator from Louisiana yielded the floor and thereby completed his first speech, and the Senator from New Hampshire took the floor and made a speech on the T. V. A. for an hour or two. Technically he was speaking, not on the bill now pending, but on the amendment, and that counts as one speech by him on the amendment, does it not?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Undoubtedly. The Chair was referring to parliamentary matters such as the one to which the Senator from Mississippi has called attention.

Mr. BARKLEY. The rule announced by the Vice President should not apply when we are about to conclude a day's session.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Not at all. It seems to the Chair that the address of the Senator from New Hampshire should be counted as one speech on the pending amendment. That would be the interpretation of the present occupant of the chair.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I desire to state the reason for my parliamentary inquiry. Yesterday the Senator from New Hampshire spoke on the T. V. A., and today I have been preparing a speech in reply. That is why I asked whether I could make another speech on the pending amendment, because as soon as I can get the floor, although I do not desire to proceed ahead of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO], I propose to reply to the speech made yesterday by the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, before the motion for a recess is made, I wish again to express the hope that I will be recognized to follow the Senator from Louisiana to speak on the pending so-called antilynching bill.

RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, January 20, 1938, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1938

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, we pray Thee that we may strike hands in unquenchable faith in our Master; may we lift up our hearts to register our allegiance to Him. Inspire us with that love which overleaps analysis and asks no other rule of conduct that all may feel but cannot explain. We pray that it may strengthen and chasten us to dwell together in the bonds of brotherhood; thus may the Lord God be magnified in us. We praise Thee for the abiding promise: The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance and the memory of the just shall be blessed. May we be persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. In His holy name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

JANUARY 18, 1938.

The Honorable WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sir: Desiring to be temporarily absent from my office, I hereby designate Mr. H. Newlin Megill, an official in my office, to sign any and all papers for me which he would be authorized to sign by virtue of this designation and of clause 4, rule III, of the House.

Respectfully yours,

SOUTH TRIMBLE,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

THE LATE PEDRO GUEVARA

Mr. PAREDES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from the Philippine Islands?

There was no objection.

Mr. PAREDES. Mr. Speaker, it is with the most profound sorrow that I announce to the House the death of a former Member, the Honorable Pedro Guevara, for 13 years the Resident Commissioner to the United States for the Philippine Islands.

Since his early childhood Mr. Guevara dedicated all of his energies to the service of the Philippines, his country. When still a young man he served during the revolution in the Philippine Islands against Spain, and later on, when peace was established, Mr. Guevara held different elective positions, first as municipal councilor of his native town, then